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M E M O I R S

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*EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;*

Lieutenant-General of the Horse, &c.

VOLUME III.

W I T H

A collection of ORIGINAL PAPERS, serving to confirm and illustrate many important passages of this and the preceeding volumes.

To which is added,

A TABLE to the whole work.

The THIRD EDITION.

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M D C C L I.

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## The P R E F A C E.

**W**HEN the two former volumes of these memoirs were published, the author's friends had no design of letting the rest of his papers go abroad; as well because those already printed contain the most remarkable transactions that passed during the whole time that England was governed without a King, as because much of this following part consists of things relating to his own person. But the good reception which the other volumes have found in most parts of Europe, and the incessant inquiries of divers persons of worth and honour concerning these remains, has induced the friends of the author to think, that the public might have just cause to complain, if they should be denied the view of the following papers. And indeed, after a careful perusal of them, they find, if they mistake not, that they will afford such instructions, as may prove not unserviceable to the world. For men will see, that though the most violent animosity, and desire of revenge, had so possessed the English court against those who had any part in the death of Charles I. that they thought the most base and treacherous ways of compassing their ends not to be rejected; yet many years were spent, many villains unsuccessfully employed, some of them punished, much treasure consumed, and more infamy contracted, whilst they could not find means to assassinate more than one of all those who had withdrawn themselves from their fury; and that the principal person against whom they directed their malice, lived to see that tyranny brought to the last

*last degree of contempt, which had taken so much pains to destroy him. The tragical end of the King's judges may be an instruction to those who shall in future time appear in the defence of liberty, to avoid all occasions of division, to use their power with moderation, and to content themselves with such a share in the public felicity, as may be consistent with the public safety. Men may learn from the issue of the Cromwellian tyranny, that liberty and a standing mercenary army are incompatible. For it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that the parliament, by neglecting to put a period to the exorbitant greatness of Oliver Cromwel immediately after the battle at Worcester, drew destruction upon themselves and the whole commonwealth; and gave the army such an opportunity to feel their strength, as naturally led them to counsels destructive to the government. This produced that monstrous-tyranny of the Usurper, and his Bashaws, under the name of Majors-General; and afterwards compelled the people to suffer the return of Charles II. The ingratitude of that prince to the Presbyterians, who had so well deserved from him by betraying all into his hands, may serve to admonish those who go under that, or any other denomination of religion or party, that no trust can be safely reposed, where there is found an incompatibility of manners and principles; and that a revenge taken against those who will not let us possess all, is a slender satisfaction for the hazard of utter ruin. But these, and perhaps many other more useful reflexions, judicious men will be much better able to make, than others to suggest.*

Bern, March 26. 1699.

# M E M O I R S

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EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

**T**HE convention at Westminster having thought themselves sufficiently authorised to alter the government by virtue of which they had been called together, and rewarded Sir John Greenville for the message he had brought; the proclamation for the readmission of monarchy in the person of Charles Stuart, was published on the 8th of May, in the presence of the new General, George Monk. Bonfires were made, the bells were rung, and much happiness expected from this change. The officers of the army subscribed a declaration, and presented it to Monk to be sent to the King; in which they expressed a resolution to become true and faithful subjects, and to accept of the King's grace and favour, according to the tenor of his late declaration from Breda. Whilst these things were doing, I kept myself private at the house of a particular friend, till I might better understand what the issue was like to be: for the council of state had, on the day I arrived at London, sent orders into the west of England



for seizing my person ; which probably might have been served upon me, if I had returned by the usual road. Fifteen commissioners were appointed to be sent to Breda, to compliment the new King, and to attend him in his passage to England ; five to be nominated by the Lords, and ten by the Commons. But every man expecting some mark of favour to be conferred on him for this service, great contentions arose among the members for that employment. To these, many others, especially of the looser sort of men, added themselves ; and some, to make an early offer of their subjection, and to provide themselves of favour and placés, went over before the commissioners : and being one day with their King in his apartment, boasting of their loyalty and services, he called for wine, and, applying himself to the Duke of York, drank to the health of those Gentlemen ; with this remark, That he was now even with them, having, as he thought, done as much for them as they had done for him.

The committee of privileges and elections having declared me to have been duly returned to serve for the borough of Hinden in the county of Wilts, and made their report, which was agreed by the house, I received an order for my admission to sit as a member ; but clogged with this unusual clause, “ That I should attend my  
 “ duty in the house, and take my place by a  
 “ certain day ;” which would be within ten days after the date of the said order. Suspecting that the reason of this insertion might proceed from some information given by the council of state that I had withdrawn myself, I thought fit to make my application to Mr. Ar-  
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thur Annesley, knowing him to be a leading man among them, as well to give him satisfaction touching the cause of my absence, as to learn from him what might be the reason of that addition. And though I well understood, that being now declared to be a member of that which was called a house of Commons, no other power could seize me without breach of their privileges; yet the same council of state still sitting, which had procured from the secluded members a power to seize any member that did not sit, and considering that things were carried on with the utmost treachery, I sent a servant to let him know I would wait on him at night. He received me with great civility; and, having conducted me to his apartment, I acquainted him, That the end of my coming to him at that time, was to assure him, that my late privacy did not proceed from any design that I had on foot against the present power; but that finding the wheel to go round so fast, that it was difficult to guess where it might rest, I thought a man who had been engaged with the first against the King, and always zealous for a commonwealth-government, might be excused, if he was unwilling to be found in prison at the King's return; especially since it was well known, that a warrant had been signed for my seizure: and therefore I desired he would favour me to inform those that were in power with the true reasons of my absence. He answered, That though I had been zealous in the way I mentioned, yet that he and others were well satisfied that my intentions were directed to the public good; and though he could not blame me for taking measures to avoid a confinement, yet he assured

me that a hair of my head should not suffer any more than his own. He then acquainted me with the passages that had happened in the house upon the report from the committee touching my election: That though nothing was said against it, yet because I was the person concerned, who, as they said, had constantly opposed them, and withdrawn myself out of their protection, a vote of the house had probably passed against agreeing with the committee, if he had not stood up, and desired the house, "That they would not do an act upon a personal distaste, of which they would be ashamed when they should better consider the matter: that justice ought to be impartial; and that nothing being alledged against the report of the committee, it ought to be taken for good: that if the person concerned had done any thing amiss, he being a member, ought to answer it in his place." This motion, being seconded by Mr. Matthew Hale, prevailed with the house to allow the report, with the addition before mentioned. He took this occasion to tell me, that there was a young head-strong party in the house, who in all debates were for the most violent courses, and that it would be very difficult to keep them in order; yet advised me to take my place in the house as soon as I could. I thought fit to follow his counsel, not only to undeceive those who thought I would continue in my retirement, but also, by coming among them before I was expected, to disturb the measures of those who waited for my ruin. I chose to go into the house early in the morning; and immediately went up into the Speaker's chambers; where I was no sooner sat down, than

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Maj. Robert Harley came to me, and desired, that if any thing should be objected against me by any member of the house, which he supposed would happen, and that the house should require me to answer, I would by all means forbear to say any thing in justification of the proceedings of the high court of justice against the late King, because it would not be suffered. I told him, that unless I was constrained, I saw no reason to mention that matter; but in that case, though it should cost me my life, I could not prevaricate.

Some of the members, who, during the time of the parliament's prosperity, had gone as high with them as any others, now reproached me with the present condition of affairs. To whom I contented myself to reply in general, That if they liked it not, they might thank themselves; and that as to my own particular, my conscience did not at all accuse me for contributing to the change, or not using my endeavours to prevent it. Others said, They had frequently admonished us, that things would be brought to this pass, by rendering the foundations of our party too narrow. But to these I answered, That they knew my principles and practices to have been such in that respect, as had drawn upon me the censures of many. Divers of those, who, in Richard's convention, had joined with the commonwealth-interest, now appeared to be totally altered; whilst others, who had opposed them at that time, now wished for Sir Henry Vane, and some others, to balance the Royal party. But those who had continued in their fidelity to the public cause, though they durst not speak out by reason of the present torrent, yet shook

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their heads to express their dislike of the present affairs.

The commissioners who had been voted to be sent to Breda being to be nominated that day I took my place in the house, divers members solicited me to insert their names in my paper. But though it was my fortune to be one of this convention, that I might not altogether neglect my own preservation; yet resolving to have no part in betraying the commonwealth, by re-establishing the government against which I had engaged, and contracting the guilt of that blood which had been shed in the late wars, I determined to put in no paper of names. To this end I went out of the house. But the Serjeant at Arms being commanded by the Speaker to call in all the members to be numbered, and seeing me, was very earnest with me to return to the house. I told him, I designed not to put in any paper; and therefore it was not necessary I should be numbered. In the mean time, the Serjeant received fresh orders to summon the members; and, repeating his importunity with me, told me plainly, if I would not go into the house, he would inform the Speaker of my refusal; which had he done, it is probable I should have been sent to the Tower. But having desired him to inquire of some ancient member, whether it was necessary for one who would put in no paper, to be numbered with the rest? he went to Mr. Pierpoint, and Serjeant Glynn, to ask the question: who, I suppose, satisfied the Serjeant it was not necessary; for, looking down from the gallery, I perceived both of them to smile whilst he was with them; but especially because I heard no more of that matter.

This

This business being over, the house fell into a debate touching persons to be intrusted with the great seal. All agreed in Mr. Tyrrel: but it was objected against Serjeant Fountain, That though he had been formerly for the King, yet he had of late shewed himself a great promoter of the reformation of the law. Many pressed, that the Earl of Manchester might be one of the commissioners; but others, who were better informed of affairs, objecting, That it would be a dishonour to the Earl, to be put into a place, which they assured the house was already given away to another person, no more was said concerning him. In the afternoon I went to the committee of elections, which sat in the house. Another day I sat with the members in the Abbey to hear a sermon; and endeavoured in all things so to carry myself, as to give no occasion to suspect me to be under any apprehensions of danger; hoping by this means to discourage my enemies from moving any thing against me; which I knew the cavalier party inclined to do out of principle; and divers of those who had served the parliament, would not fail to comply with, from a prudential care of themselves; hoping not only to make their own peace, by sacrificing those who had been most faithful to the public, but also to procure favour and preferment for themselves.

During this time, I had sent orders to my bailiff in Ireland, to sell my stock, which in sheep, black cattle, corn, and horses, might amount to about 1500*l.* and to collect the rents that were due to me from my tenants. But he being negligent, I made over my stock to my brother-in-law Col. Kempson, for satisfaction of  
my



my sister's portion, pressing him to send some person forthwith to take possession. Which not being done with the expedition that was requisite in such a conjuncture, Sir Charles Coote, without any order or pretence of authority from the parliament, made seizure of all; forcing my tenants to pay my rents to him, and commanding my servant not to dispose of any part of my stock but by his order; only four stone-horses which I had bred, and were then in my stable, were taken away by Col. Theophilus Jones: these men, who had engaged in the same cause, outdoing our enemies in rage and cruelty to us.

In the convention things went high; men not daring to shew moderation, lest it should be called disaffection to the King: but in private, divers members of both houses declared themselves of opinion, that a general indemnity ought to be granted for all that had passed, without any exception. The Earl of Northumberland was heard to say, That though he had no part in the death of the King, he was against questioning those who had been concerned in that affair; that the example might be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future Kings, by deterring them from the like exorbitancies. And the Lord Fairfax, on that subject, plainly said, That, if any person must be excepted, he knew no man that deserved it more than himself; who being General of the army at that time, and having power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the King, had not thought fit to make use of it to that end. Divers also of the Commons moved, That limitations and conditions might be drawn up, on which they should consent to receive

receive their King; till at length finding, that Monk, who had the power in his hand, gave constant intelligence of all that was said, and by whom, none of them durst insist any farther on those heads. And that he might complete his treachery, when the Lord Say proposed to him, that, for the quiet of mens minds, an act of indemnity should be passed, in which some of those who had been principally concerned in the death of the King might be excepted, he, in a great rage, answered, "Not a man: for, if I should suffer such a thing, I should be the arrantest rogue that ever lived." Yet, for all this, under colour that the house might have better terms from their King, by relying on his ingenuity, than by capitulating with him, especially at a distance, he had the confidence to move them, That their commissioners might be impowered, simply to invite him into England. Which motion concurring with the opinion of the unforeseeing cavaliers among them, and disliked only by those who had not courage enough to publish their dissent, for fear of exposing themselves to a future revenge, was taken for the sense of the whole house, and so passed.

Sir Charles Coote having opened the bloody scene by the seizure of the Chief Justice Coke in Ireland, a party of the Staffordshire militia, commanded by one Col. Bowyer, thought themselves sufficiently authorised to act in the like manner; and therefore seized Maj.-Gen. Harrison, with his horses and arms; he having refused, upon advice of their intentions, to withdraw himself from his house, accounting such an action to be a desertion of the cause in which he had engaged; though many precepts and examples might be

be produced, even from the scriptures, to justify men who endeavour to avoid the cruelty of enemies and persecutors, by removing themselves where they may be protected: for that only can properly be called a desertion of the cause, when men disown it to save their lives, and not when they endeavour to secure themselves by lawful means, in order to promote it. But I shall not take upon me to censure the conduct of the Major-General; not knowing what extraordinary impulse one of his virtue, piety, and courage, may have had upon his mind in that conjuncture. Sure I am, he was every way so qualified for the part he had in the following sufferings, that even his enemies were astonished and confounded.

The King's party in the house of Commons having got such an ascendant, that it was no longer safe to oppose them, drove on furiously, and procured a resolution to be passed for seizing the persons of all those who had signed the warrant for the execution of the late King; which though carried with all possible privacy, yet being not destitute of friends among them, I had timely notice of their intentions. And because I doubted not that the house where I lived would be suddenly searched, I went to another in Southampton buildings, belonging to one of my relations; where I had appointed some friends to meet me in the evening, and to bring me an account of what had passed at Westminster. When I came to the house, I found my friends had been in great pain for me; the time that I had appointed for our meeting being past by almost two hours, through the fault of my watch. Upon the account I received of the state of our  
 affairs,



affairs, we entered into a debate concerning the course I should take to preserve myself from the danger that threatened me: and the company advised, that I should forthwith remove from the house where I was; because the entrance was in so public a place, that it was probable I might have been observed at my coming in. For this reason I consented to go immediately to the house of another friend, which was not far distant, and had a back-gate leading to several other houses; with an intention to stay there till night, and then to repair to a more private place in London, which had been prepared for me some days before. Night being come, and I ready to depart, my friend, though not insensible of the danger that might ensue by entertaining me, would by no means let me go; alledging, that, on the night of that day when a resolution of such importance had passed the house, the watch in London would not fail of their accustomed diligence. This being seconded by some of my nearest relations, who also advised me to stay, I was contented to acquiesce; and the next morning was informed, that the watch had hardly permitted any coach to pass into London without some kind of search.

The order for seizing the King's judges not producing that sudden effect the Commons expected, provoked them to such a degree, that they commanded their real and personal estates to be forthwith seized in an extraordinary manner; contrary, I presume, to the known laws, which provide, that no confiscation shall be made till after conviction. But it ought not to seem strange, that those who had so far parted with their prudence, to recal from a twelve years banishment,

nishment, the son of a father whose head had been publicly taken off, and invest him with the government of a nation where this had been done, should be no more solicitous for the privileges of their countrymen.

The house having received information, that Maj.-Gen. Harrison was brought prisoner to London, they ordered him to be sent to the Tower; and that all his horses which had been taken from him by those who had seized him at his house, should be brought to the stables in the Mewse, for the use of their King. Chief Justice Coke, being also sent to London by Sir Charles Coote, was by another order committed prisoner to the same place.

In the mean time the commissioners sent from England to attend the new King, arrived at Breda; where Mr. Denzil Hollis, according to the instructions he had received at Westminster to impart their message to the King, going about to execute that order, was interrupted and ruffled by Mr. Henry Howard, brother to the Earl of Arundel; who said, it was insolent in him to pretend that honour, which belonged to another of the commissioners; and named one that was his own kinsman. But Mr. Hollis affirming, that the house had intrusted him with their compliments and desires, the King thought fit to make up the difference, and to suffer Mr. Hollis to perform his part. Fifty thousand pounds were sent over by these commissioners to pay the debts of the King, and to equip him for his journey to England, together with considerable sums of money for the Dukes of York and Gloucester. Divers private persons also had taken care to make their presents. Among others,  
Mr.

Mr. William Lenthall, late Speaker of the parliament, had commissioned a friend to give the King 3000 l. from him, and to desire that he might continue Master of the Rolls. But the person he had employed was told, that the place was already promised to another.

Whilst these things were doing in Holland, the house of Commons were preparing a bill of indemnity with all possible diligence, that it might be ready to pass at the arrival of the King. They unanimously agreed, That some of the King's judges should be excepted, both as to life and estate; the remaining dispute being only about the number. Some proposed, that all might be excepted, others would be contented with twenty, and many with thirteen. But Monk, who had betrayed them all, expressing his desires to be for moderation, they were reduced to nine; which that *bouteſeu* Prynne, contrary to the orders of the house, undertook to name. Yet I was so far obliged to him, that my name was not upon his list. Monk at last prevailed with the house to bring the number to seven.

Col. John Jones, who had acted as a member of the high court of justice, being walking one evening at some distance from his lodging to take the air, was seized, and sent prisoner to the Tower, by order of the house; together with Mr. Gregory Clement, another of those judges; who had concealed himself at a mean house near Grays-Inn. But some persons having observed that better provisions were carried to that place than had been usual, procured an officer to search the house; where they found Mr. Clement, and presuming him to be one of the King's judges,

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though they knew him not personally, carried him before the commissioners of the militia for that precinct. One of these commissioners, to whom he was not unknown, after a slight examination, had prevailed with the rest to dismiss him. But, as he was about to withdraw, it happened that a blind man who had crouded into the room, and was acquainted with the voice of Mr. Clement, which was very remarkable, desired he might be called in again; and demanded, If he was not Mr. Gregory Clement? The commissioners, not knowing how to refuse his request, permitted the question to be asked. And he not denying himself to be the man, was by that means discovered, and sent to the Tower likewise.

Many of the judges passed over into Holland, and other parts beyond the seas; divers of them not without great danger of being surpris'd. Of these, Mr. Cornelius Holland being at Colchester, in order to depart with the first occasion, the Mayor of the town was informed, that a suspected person was lodged at a certain inn; and that they supposed him to be Maj.-Gen. Lambert. Upon this notice, the inn was searched; and his horse, with other things, seized at four in the morning. But Mr. Holland was already gone abroad, to receive a sum of money from a merchant of the place, who was to begin a journey to London early that day; and having received advice of what had passed at the inn, he was, by the favour of a friend conveyed out of town, and by that means made his escape.

The new King being suddenly expected, great numbers of those who had been officers in the cavalier-army, or were otherwise zealous for him,

him, procured horses and cloaths, for the most part upon credit; and formed themselves into troops, under the Lord Litchfield, Lord Cleveland, and that apostate Brown the woodmonger, in order to attend him at his reception. And news being brought that he was put out to sea, Monk, accompanied with a guard of horse, marched to Dover, and received him at his landing. The King embraced him, kissed him, and called him father; and it might be truly said, that in some respects they were very nearly allied. At Canterbury the King presented him with the George and Garter; the first was put on by the Duke of York, the other by the Duke of Gloucester. And because it was suspected, that the army which had fought against him, might still retain some of their former inclinations; it was resolved, that the King, with his brothers, should lodge at the house of Col. Gibbons, one of their officers, at Rochester. Many Knights were made in this journey, and bonfires were to be seen in great numbers on the road; the inconstant multitude in some places burning the badges of their own freedom, the arms of the commonwealth. Monk's army was drawn up on Blackheath; and by the best judges was thought to deserve the fool's coat, rather than the soldier's casque.

The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of the city, treated their King with a collation under a tent placed in St. George's fields: and 5 or 600 citizens clothed in coats of black velvet, and (not improperly) wearing chains about their necks, by an order of the common council, attended on the triumph of that day; with much more empty pageantry, which I purpose-



ly omit. But I must not pass over the folly and insolence manifested at that time by those who had been so often defeated in the field, and had contributed nothing either of bravery or policy to this change, in ordering the soldiery to ride with swords drawn through the city of London to Whitehall, the Duke of York and Monk leading the way; and intimating, as was supposed, a resolution to maintain that by force which had been obtained by fraud.

The Lords, with those who sat in the house of Commons, received the King at Whitehall, after this tedious cavalcade; where the Speakers of both houses loaded him with compliments; and took the best care they could to make him believe himself to be the best, greatest, and bravest prince in the whole world. His answer to them was short, by reason, as he said, of his present discomposure, caused by the great acclamations he had received in his passage; which yet he pretended had been very agreeable to him, as they were expressions of the affections of his people.

Most of those who had attended this entry, finding the streets through which they had passed to be full of people, returned to the city by the way of Holborn; by which means I had a view of them from the house where I then was. And I confess it was a strange sight to me, to see the horse that had formerly belonged to our army, now put upon an employment so different from that which they had at first undertaken; especially when I considered, that for the most part they had not been raised out of the meanest of the people, and without distinction, as other armies had been; but that they consisted of such

as had engaged themselves from a spirit of liberty in the defence of their rights and religion. But having been corrupted under the tyranny of Cromwel, and kept up as a standing force against the people, they had forgotten their first engagements, and were become as mercenary as other troops are accustomed to be.

The dissolution and drunkenness of that night was so great and scandalous, in a nation which had not been acquainted with such disorders for many years past, that the King, who still stood in need of the Presbyterian party, which had betrayed all into his hands, for their satisfaction caused a proclamation to be published, forbidding the drinking of healths. But resolving, for his own part, to be obliged to no rule of any kind, he publicly violated his own order in a few days, at a debauch in the Mulberry garden; and more privately at another meeting in the city, where he drank healths to the utmost excess till two in the morning.

The bill of indemnity being not yet finished, the Commons, out of a tender care for their own persons and estates, resolving to make it ready with all diligence, proceeded to the nomination of the seven persons who were to be excepted for condemning the late King to death; and having agreed that Maj.-Gen. Harrison, John Lisle, Esq; and William Say, Esq; should be three of that number, it was contrived that a letter should be brought to Monk at that instant, (not without suspicion that he was the author of the design, to the end I might be inserted), informing him, that I was in arms at the head of several hundred men, in one of the islands called the *Holmes*, and had declared against this

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convention.

convention. The letter being communicated to the house, who were ready to give credit to any thing of that nature, had probably answered the end of the contrivers of this design, if something, of which I was not informed, had not obliged them to adjourn abruptly. Yet, upon this alarm, one of my friends in this house, who had served in the King's army, and to whom I had been formerly useful at the time of his composition, came in a great surprise to one that was his sister-in-law, and also related to me, acquainting her with the report; and telling her, that he had engaged many members that were of the King's party, to be for me; but that if this should prove to be true, neither they nor he could possibly serve me: and therefore desired her to give me notice with all diligence of what had passed, that I might take some course to satisfy the parliament of the falshood of this rumour. She promised him to endeavour so to do; and in the mean time assured him, that she knew the report to be false. Upon this assurance, which he immediately reported to the party above mentioned, I am inclined to believe it chiefly came to pass, that when they proceeded to complete the number of seven, who were to be excepted both for life and estate, and had agreed that Col. John Jones, Mr. Cornelius Holland, and Mr. Thomas Scot, should be added to the three before mentioned; a motion being made by one Col. Skipwith, that I might be the seventh man, he was not seconded. So that another member proposing Col. Barkstead, and no man daring to say any thing either in extenuation of the pretended crime, or commendation of the persons concerned, he was voted to fill up



up the number. Chief Justice Coke, who had been Solicitor to the high court of justice, Mr. Broughton, who had been clerk, and Mr. Edward Dendy their Serjeant at Arms, were also excepted in the same manner. And that no means of gratifying the passions of our enemies might be omitted, having already, under pretence that some of the late King's judges were fled, ordered their estates to be seized; it was contrived by the creatures of the court, who were a great part of the house, that a petition should be drawn, and presented to the King, to issue out a proclamation for requiring all those of the late King's judges, and others therein named, to surrender themselves within the space of fourteen days, under pain of exception from the benefit of the act, both for life and estate.

This petition having had its rise from the court, and on that account received with joy by the King, soon produced a proclamation as had been desired; which being published near my lodgings, I heard the officer distinctly as he read it aloud to the people. But I found it difficult to resolve what to do: for though the message from Breda had declared the King would be satisfied, if some few persons, who had an immediate hand in the death of his father, might be excepted from the indemnity; yet, finding himself now possessed of the throne, it was visible to all men, that he used the utmost of his endeavours to influence the house of Commons to greater severities than were at first pretended; and, partly for rapine, partly for revenge, to except a great number of those who had taken part with the parliament, from any benefit of the act, except only as to life, their estates

states being declared to be confiscated to the King. Among those who appeared the most basely subservient to these exorbitancies of the court, Mr. William Prynne was singularly remarkable; bringing in a clause for excepting all those who had taken the oath at the council of state for abjuring the family of the Stuarts: which the clerk undertaking to read without any order of the house, Mr. Clarges, brother-in-law to Monk, perceiving that Vice-Adm. Lawson would by this means be excluded from pardon, and knowing that Monk had engaged to bring him off clear, most sharply rebuked the clerk for his officiousness; and, with the help of his friends, put a stop to that motion.

The Commons being acquainted by Sir Harbottle Grimston their Speaker, that Mr. William Heveningham, Mr. Simon Mayne, and others of the late King's judges, had rendered themselves into his hands, according to the late proclamation, ordered them to be in the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the house. Which when some of my friends and relations heard, they consulted what might be best for me to do in this conjuncture. Some were of opinion I should surrender myself, as others had done: others were unwilling to advise in a case wherein my life was concerned; yet gave some obscure intimation, that if they were in my condition, they would not put themselves into the hands of their enemies: and one of them, who was not unacquainted with the public affairs, gave it for his opinion, that I should by no means render myself. Of this I received an account by my wife. But not being in the number of the seven who were to be excepted, and my

my affairs, by reason of the sudden change, altogether unsettled, I was willing to improve the present opportunity; and if I might have no favour in relation to my estate, yet to settle at least my private affairs as well as I could. To this end, I inclined to surrender myself according to the proclamation; and drew up a petition, containing in substance, "That whereas I had engaged with the parliament on the behalf of the commonwealth, and had discharged the trust reposed in me with as much tenderneſs to thoſe of the contrary party as my fidelity to the parliament would permit; Providence having ordered, that the former government ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in this nation, I thought it my duty, as a member of the commonwealth, to declare my reſolution to ſubmit to the preſent powers, that I might with the reſt of the good people of England enjoy the benefit of their protection." Having ſigned this paper, and preſuming upon the friendſhip of Mr. Anneſley, I ſent it to him by my wife, deſiring his advice. But he being lately ſworn a privy counſellor, and with his condition altering his manners, when he had peruſed the paper, he delivered it again to my wife, and ſaid, That the Lieutenant-General was very good at drawing letters of recommendation. My wife told him, That what was contained in that paper, was as much as my conſcience would give me leave to ſay; and received for answer, That then I ſhould do better to ſay nothing: which was not altogether without reaſon; for ſome of thoſe who had petitioned the houſe, and not acknowledged themſelves guilty of a fault, were, for that cauſe, excepted, who otherwiſe,

as men thought, would not have been so treated.

There being some relation between the Earl of Ormond and me, I directed my wife to apply herself to him on this occasion. He received her with great civilities, and made her large promises; pressing her, with great importunity, to acquaint him, if I were in England. But she desired to be excused in that particular, as a thing not proper to be communicated to any person in such a conjuncture. In the mean time, my friend, whom I mentioned before, continued to advise, that I should not by any means render myself; affirming, that the house of Lords would not fail to make some addition to the exceptions; and that some of them had intimated that I was likely to be one. Being not a little surpris'd with this information, though the reasons above mentioned inclined me to surrender myself, yet I was unwilling to expose my life to the fancies of such an uncertain sort of men: and therefore, by my direction, my wife went to Sir Harbottle Grimeston, and acquainted him with the state of my affairs, and the doubts which I lay under. Of which he seem'd very sensible, communicating his thoughts very freely to her; and telling her, that it was his opinion the Lords would rest satisfied with what had been done; but if they should not, it would be the most horrid thing in the world, should the house of Commons agree with them in excepting any man who had rendered himself: but withal acquainted her, that the house was so compos'd, that no man could undertake to tell what they would not do: adding, That he should dine that day with Mr. Hollis, and other leading men of the parliament;

ment; and that he would inform himself from them touching that particular, of which he would then give her the best advice he could. The time which he had fixed being come, my wife went to him again; and was informed by him, that he had been with that company he had mentioned to her, and had found them all to be of opinion, that the house would never be guilty of so unworthy an action; and therefore advised her to persuade me to come in; giving her an order under his hand to secure me from any seizure in my way to him, and promising to speak to the Serjeant at Arms to be moderate in his demands of caution for my appearance. Under the favour of this warrant, I went to a place where divers of my friends were, in order to seal some writings for settling my private affairs; which was the principal motive that had prevailed with me to render myself: and having dispatched that business, I went to the Speaker's chamber; who being not there, I took Mr. James Herbert, a member of the convention, with me to the house of the Serjeant at Arms; where finding that he had received orders from Sir Harbottle Grimeston concerning me, Mr. Herbert gave his word for my appearance, till I should procure personal security. This engagement made me very uneasy; for I thought myself obliged, whatever might become of me, to take care that Mr. Herbert might not suffer for his friendship to me. But, after two or three days, I prevailed with the Serjeant to accept the security I had provided. They were, my uncle, Col. Thomas Stradling, who had been constantly of the King's party; and by being engaged for some debts of his brother Sir Edward



Edward Stradling, had ruined his fortune : the second was Col. Edward Sutton, one knighted by the King since his return, and who had no other estate than in the right of his wife : the third was one Mr. Etherington, who had been possessor of a considerable estate ; but for many years past had not been worth any thing : the fourth was Thomas Ashton, a citizen of London, who had been my taylor ; but was now in the same condition with Mr. Etherington. Col. Sutton was arrested as he was coming to me, and by that means prevented ; Mr. Etherington, being furnished with a clean band, hat, and cloak, passed without dispute ; so did Ashton ; and of Col. Stradling there was no colour to doubt. I gave the two first a little money, with which they were well pleased ; and I was abundantly satisfied that this business passed thus over.

When Sir Harbottle Grimeston had reported to the house that I had rendered myself, and desired to know their pleasure concerning me ; some of my friends moved, that I might be continued in the custody of the Serjeant at Arms ; which being put to the question, was accordingly ordered. Whilst these things were doing, my Lady Vane told my wife, that Mrs. Monk had said, she would go upon her knees to the King, and beg, that Sir Henry Vane, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, and Lt-Gen. Ludlow, might die without mercy : and one of my friends, who frequented the court, assured me, he heard Monk saying to the King, That there was not a man in the three nations more violent against him, or more dangerous to his interests than I was ; to which the King made answer, That he had been otherwise informed by many of his party, who

who had received civilities from me in their troubles. But that which made me most sensible of my danger, was, that Secretary Maurice, with whom I had been acquainted for some time, not knowing that I had rendered myself to the Speaker, told a person whom he knew to be my friend, that where-ever I was, I should do well to be upon my guard ; for if I should be taken, I was a dead man.

Some members of this convention, who had engaged to do me all the good offices they could, presuming the house would proceed forthwith to impose certain fines upon those of the late King's judges who had rendered themselves ; and therefore desiring to see a particular of my estate, that they might know how to moderate my fine when it should be debated, I drew it up as well as I could at that distance from my papers, and sent it to them. And now my friends supposing my business to go on prosperously in the house of Commons, began to apply themselves to the Lords on my behalf, in case they should add any farther exceptions to the bill of indemnity ; and received promises of assistance from all they thought fit to ask, except only the Earl of Northampton ; who said to my wife's father, that I had been a great enemy to the King. However, I made the best use I could of this time in settling my private affairs. And my brother Kempson had prevailed with my Lord Broghill to write to Sir Charles Coote, that my stock might be delivered to him upon security to be responsible where it should be adjudged to belong. But Coote was so far from satisfying either his own conscience or the Lord Broghill in this matter, that, fearing I might be in a condition to

call him to account for the injustice he had done to me, he wrote a letter to the King, in which having first inveighed against me as the most bitter of all his enemies, he informed him, That dining with me one day at my house, I had assured him, that Cromwel had not proceeded to extremities against the late King, if I had not pressed him, and almost forced him to that resolution: and for confirmation of the truth of this, he desired that the Lord Broghill, who, he said, had dined with me the same day, might be interrogated. But when the King asked my Lord Broghill concerning this business, he protested, he had not charged his memory with any such thing; adding, that he thought it unbecoming a man of honour to remember any thing to the prejudice of a Gentleman who had spoken freely at his own table.

The army being not yet disbanded, the King thought convenient in some measure still to cajole the Presbyterian party; and therefore Mr. Richard Baxter and Mr. Edmund Calamy were appointed to be his chaplains in ordinary. But he could not forbear, on some occasions, to discover his contempt of the men of that sort; particularly when Mr. Case, who thought he had deserved highly of the King, would have pressed with his usual freedom into his presence; and being denied entrance, had sent in his name; though, in answer to his importunity, he was admitted; yet, by the carriage of those who were present, and derided his habit, and unmannerly way of approaching the King, he might easily perceive how disagreeable his company was in that place. Yet the King having demanded what he had to say, he told him, he had a word of advice



vice to his Majesty; and going on to persuade him to a care of his party, he was interrupted by the King, who said he did not remember that he had made him one of his council. However, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Robartes, and Mr. Denzil Hollis, were sworn of his privy council; and the Earl of Manchester made Chamberlain of the Household. But Monk, for a reward of his treachery to those who had intrusted him, not only received the Garter, but was continued to be General of all the forces; and obtained the parchment-honour of Duke of Albemarle, with divers pensions and lands of great value. To these favours was added the charge of Master of the Horse; which, by the industry of his wife, who having been an exchange-woman knew how to drive a bargain, was by the sale of places improved to the utmost advantage.

Having acquainted those who had answered for my appearance at the time when they entered into that obligation, of my intentions to withdraw myself, if I should find my life in danger; I took care at all times when the house was sitting, lest I should be surpris'd and seized by an order from them, to cause the gates of my house, which were divers, to be well guarded; and for the most part retired to some other place during that time. When the house was up, I used to take more liberty, having daily advice from some members of what had pass'd among them.

The bill of indemnity being brought to the Lords, a great contention arose concerning the number of persons to be excepted; the widow of Dr. Hewet, with Mrs. Penruddock, and divers others soliciting them with such importunity for

particular satisfaction, on account of their relations who had been put to death, that they found themselves obliged to appoint a committee to hear their demands. The Lords also were inclined to revenge their own order on the persons of some in the high court of justice, by whom some of their number had been condemned, and to except one of the judges for every Lord they had put to death; the nomination of the person to be excepted being referred to that Lord who was most nearly related to the person that had suffered. According to this rule, Col. Croxton was nominated by the next relation to the Earl of Derby, Maj. Waring by the kinsman of another, and Col. Titchburn by a third. The Earl of Denbigh, whose sister had been married to the Duke of Hamilton, being desired by the Lords to nominate one to be excepted, in satisfaction for the death of his brother-in-law, named a person who had been some time dead; of which some of the house being informed, they called upon him to name another; but he said, that since it had so fallen out, he desired to be excused from naming any more. This action, though seeming to proceed from chance, was generally esteemed to have been voluntary; the Earl of Denbigh being known to be a generous man, and a lover of his country.

And now the Royal party in the house of Lords began to discover their intentions to except all the King's judges from the benefit of the indemnity; which was communicated to me by Sir John Winter, Secretary to the Queen-mother, in a visit he made me at my house. He also informed me, that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and the Marquis of Argyll, had been seized,

seized, and sent to the Tower, by the King's order. In conclusion, he said, That whilst the King was treating with Monk about his restitution, and considering that I was then at the head of the parliament's forces in Ireland, he had acquainted him, that he had no greater difficulty to encounter, than how to prevent me from obstructing the design; and that he would have given me any conditions, to have been assured of my service: from all which considerations, he advised me rather to withdraw myself, than to submit to the mercy of my enemies.

Col. Ingoldsbey, on account of his service in the suppression of the party that had followed Maj.-Gen. Lambert, was not excepted from the act; nor Col. Hutchinson, though he had been as zealous against the late King at the time of his trial, as any other of his judges. But having joined with Monk in his treacherous design, he had obtained a pardon from the King, whilst he was beyond sea. It was agreed in the house, That Col. Adrian Scroop and Col. Lascelles should have the benefit of the act, paying one year's value of their estates. Maj. Lister was not inserted, as was supposed by the credit and interest of Mr. William Pierpoint; and Col. Thomlinson was excused, upon information given to the house by Mr. Seymour, that the late King, when he waited on him a day or two before he suffered, signified to him his pleasure, that the Colonel should receive favour on account of his civil carriage to him during his confinement. But the son would not think this to be sufficient for his exemption; declaring to some about him, that he ought of all men to be excepted, because he had an opportunity, and a fair offer to let his

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father

father escape, which he refused. On this ground the Earl of Litchfield moved for his exception. But the Earl of Bristol being engaged for Thomlinson, and presuming to be better acquainted with the King's intentions, undertook to reprove the Earl of Litchfield so sharply, that the dispute had almost ended in a quarrel.

These contestations and delays in finishing the act of indemnity and oblivion, made the people not only murmur, but begin to doubt, that nothing of that nature would be passed for their security; especially, after the Earl of Bristol had made a speech in the house of Lords, which, according to his manner of ostentation, he caused to be printed; where, after much boasting of his important employments abroad, he desired that the act might pass with the exception only of those who had a hand in the death of the King, who, he moved, might be more particularly described in another bill to be drawn for that purpose. By which no man could know whether he intended not, that not only his judges, and the members who sat after the year 1648, with those who petitioned for justice against him, but even all those who had in any way contributed to make war for the parliament, should be excepted. But the court having not yet disbanded the army, would not venture too far in irritating the people; and therefore pressed that the bill might be hastened to a conclusion.

Great endeavours were used by the friends of those who had been excepted in the house of Commons, to procure them to be omitted by the Lords. And the Earl of Litchfield soliciting the Lord Sturton for his vote in the behalf of Lt.-Gen. Fleetwood, received his promise to that effect,

effect, on condition he would engage to be for me on the like occasion. Of this the Lord Sturton informed me in a visit he and his lady were pleased to make me in that conjuncture.

Having observed which way the Lords inclined, I drew up the state of the case, as well as I could, of those who had rendered themselves upon the proclamation, accompanied with such reasons as then occurred to my thoughts, why the house of Commons should not agree to any enlargement of the exceptions made by them. This paper I designed for the press; but having sent it to Mr. Henry Martin for his opinion, he returned for answer, That unless my name were subscribed, the house of Lords would not fail to call it a libel; and therefore advised that it should be presented in the form of a petition. Upon which I laid it aside.

Divers messages were sent from Whitehall by Hyde and others to the Lords, for the dispatch of the bill; but meeting with little success, by reason of many obstructions that were continually laid in the way, the King came in person to the house, and pressed them to expedition; thanking the Lords for excepting those who had been the judges of the King his father, "who," he said, were guilty of such a crime, that they "could not pardon themselves, much less expect it from others." By which he not only manifested his own revengeful temper, and the little regard he had to the promise he had made in his proclamation from Breda, to refer himself wholly to the parliament for pardoning what had been done during the late troubles; but his imprudence, in this so early violation of the privileges of the parliament, by taking notice of  
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what was depending in the two houses, before it came to be judicially presented to him; and by that means fomenting a division between them concerning an affair in which he himself was principally interested. He told them, “O-  
 “ther ways might be found to meet with those  
 “who were of turbulent and factious spirits;” insinuating, if I mistake not, that his intentions were not to be guided by the direction of the laws, but that he had some secret reserves to render the act of indemnity insignificant; concluding with desires, that they would be careful to make provision for his Irish subjects, who had manifested great affection to him during his exile; expressing the same zeal in the latter part of his speech for the bloody Irish rebels, as he had done in the former, against those who had dared to defend the liberties of England. And by this means the Irish grew immediately to that confidence, that one Fitzharris publicly affirmed in Westminster-hall, that they were the best subjects the King had; and for that reason should be soon restored to the possession of their lands. Of which the house being informed, they committed him to the Gate-house; but, after two days, he was by the prevalency of the court-faction discharged from his imprisonment.

The King, who had not only an inclination to re-establish the Irish in their estates, but had, by a treaty formerly made with them, obliged himself to that condition, found no small difficulty to carry fair with those of the army who were concerned in the confiscated lands. He was not willing to send any one into that government, who should be ungrateful to the Irish; and durst not employ such as he and they de-  
 fired,



fired, for fear of the English. For an expedient, therefore, it was proposed that the Lord Robartes should be sent as deputy to Monk, who when he contracted to sell his masters, had desired the Lieutenancy of Ireland for himself: but being told, that if he would have that employment, he must go over and execute it in his own person; he thought not convenient to accept it on those terms, apprehending that it would be no hard matter to supplant and ruin him in his absence. However, the Lord Robartes had the title of Deputy, and was addressed by that name; but finding he had only served for a present occasion, he desired to be recalled from that employment.

Finding my friends to grow every day more apprehensive of the dangers that threatened me, I removed from my house; and on this occasion received a signal testimony of the friendship of Chief Justice Coke; who, being little solicitous for himself, solemnly protested in a message he sent me, That if he were in no hazard on this occasion, he would willingly lay down his life to secure mine, who, he was pleased to say, might be more useful to the public than he could hope to be.

The Earl of Antrim, an Irish Papist, and principally concerned in the rebellion of that country, had been seized at the same time with the Marquis of Argyll, though for a different reason; the latter for his services in the cause of liberty and religion; the former for unseasonably affirming, that the Irish were authorised by the late King to act as they had done. Both these Lords coming to London to congratulate the restitution of the King, were sent to the  
Tower.

Tower. The Laird of Swinton was also made prisoner, and sent in custody to the same place. The cause of his seizure was at first reported to be for designing to stab the King, as he was pretending to cure the disease called *the King's evil*. But afterwards they changed their language; and gave out, that it was for deserting the Scots after the battle of Dunbar, and rendering himself to Oliver Cromwel. Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haslerig were also seized, under the pretext that they had endeavoured to persuade divers officers of the army to form a party, in order to oppose the present power. But this soon appeared to be a fiction; and that the design was, to take away their lives by any means; the King, when he heard they were in custody, offering to lay a wager they should not escape. Col. Axtel, who had behaved himself honestly and bravely in the service of the commonwealth, was about the same time trepanned by a cavalier, under pretence of treating with him for the purchase of some lands, and sent prisoner to the Tower.

The Lords being pressed, as I mentioned before, to dispatch the act of indemnity, came at last to this result, touching the twenty persons proposed by the Commons to be excepted from all other benefit of the act, except only as to life, That Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, and Col. Axtel, should be excepted both as to life and estate; the other sixteen to be made incapable of any office or employment in church or state. The news of this resolution being carried to the King by the Duke of York, the Duke of Buckingham, and Monk, he openly expressed his joy; and when they told him,

him, that the Chief Justice St. John's had narrowly escaped, he wished he had been added also. Of which particulars I received information by a person of honour then present, immediately after they had parted.

The next thing to be considered, was, how to treat those of the late King's judges who had rendered themselves upon the proclamation; which held no long debate; those who were inclined to do that which was just, decent, and reasonable, being far the lesser number. Yet the Earl of Southampton had the courage to move, That, since it was not thought fit to secure the lives of those who had been induced to surrender their persons upon the faith of the proclamation, they ought at least to give them the like number of days for saving themselves, as were appointed by that paper for their coming in. But Finch, who had formerly fled from the justice of the parliament, opposed that motion; and said, that, by such means, they might be enabled to do more mischief, (as he knew had happened in his own case). Upon this, Mr. Thomas Chaloner, with those of the judges who had rendered themselves, were put into the exception for life and estate. Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Robert Wallop, the Lord Monson, Sir James Harrington, Mr. James Chaloner, and Mr. John Phelps, were excepted from receiving any benefit of their estates, and subjected to such farther punishments as should be inflicted upon them; their lives only to be preserved. Col. Hacker, who was one of those to whom the warrant of the high court of justice, for the execution of the King, had been directed, together with Mr. Hugh Peters, and the two persons  
who

who were in mask upon the scaffold when he was beheaded, were excepted by the Lords both for life and estate.

The bill, with these alterations, being sent down to the house of Commons for their concurrence, they seemed unwilling to sacrifice those, who, upon invitation and promise of favour, had rendered themselves; and therefore refused to consent to the exception of Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, and Maj.-Gen. Lambert, from the benefit of the act as to their lives; some of them saying in the house, that those Gentlemen having had no immediate hand in the death of the King, there was as much reason to except most of themselves. Yet they agreed to except Col. Daniel Axtel, Mr. Hugh Peters, and the rest as desired. And, to shew their readiness to gratify the revenge of those at the helm with the blood of as many as they could find any colour to abandon, being informed, that Mr. John Carew, who had not at all concealed himself, had been seized by a warrant from a Justice of the Peace; that his name being mistaken in the warrant, and the officer refusing to detain him till that error should be amended, Mr. Carew had told him, that he was, as he conceived, the person designed to be seized, and therefore acquainted him with the place to which he was going; yet, for all this, (though happening within the fourteen days limited by the proclamation, and on the way to London, where such persons were directed to render themselves), the major part of the house of Commons voted this not to be a surrender, and excepted him both in life and estate. Mr. Gregory Clement being already a prisoner in the Tower, was put into the same condition.

condition. And Col. Adrian Scroop, though he had rendered himself within the time limited by the proclamation, and though the Commons had declared themselves contented with the forfeiture of a year's value of his estate; yet, upon information from that renegado Brown, of some private discourse between them, in which the Colonel, as he said, had justified the part he had in doing justice upon the late King, they condemned him without a hearing; and added him to the exception, both in respect to life and estate: An action of such a nature, that I shall forbear to give it the name it deserves. But the King not satisfied with these sacrifices, greedy of revenge, and forgetting his message from Breda, encouraged his creatures in the house of Lords to insist upon their exceptions. But the Commons being averse to break the public faith in every particular, a conference of both houses was appointed; in which some of the lower house pressing the promise of the proclamation, the Chancellor presumed to affirm, That the proclamation was only in the nature of a *subpœna*. But the Commons were not satisfied with this definition.

Having received advice from divers persons of honour, that the court was enraged that I had not been excepted; and that Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, had declared his resolution to move the house, that their prisoners in the Serjeant's custody might be committed to the Tower; my servants having also acquainted me, that the Serjeant had endeavoured to inform himself if I continued still at my house, I resolved not to appear any more in public: and, having the offer of a house near Richmond



for my retirement, I went down thither ; where I passed some days very quietly, and had the advantage of walking in the park. Having one day made an excursion as far as Maj.-Gen. Lambert's house at Wimbleton, I perceived words to this effect written on the outside of a banqueting-house, " The way to ruin enemies, is to divide their counsels ; " which lesson had he practised, the confusions brought upon the nation had possibly been avoided.

During these contests between the two houses touching the exceptions to be made, Sir John Bouchier, who had been one of the King's judges, and had rendered himself within the time limited by the proclamation, being of a great age, and very infirm, was permitted to lodge at a private house belonging to one of his daughters. In this place he was seized with so dangerous a fit of illness, that those about him, who were his nearest relations, despairing of his recovery, and presuming, that an acknowledgment from him of his sorrow for the part he had in the condemnation of the King, might tend to procure some favour to them from those in power, they earnestly pressed him to give them that satisfaction. But he being highly displeased with their request, rose suddenly from his chair, which for some days he had not been able to do without assistance ; and, receiving fresh vigour from the memory of that action, said, " I tell you, it was a just act. God, and " all good men, will own it." And, having thus expressed himself, he sat down again, and soon after quietly ended his life.

The court-party among the Commons, though they could not bring the house to an entire violation



lation of the public faith ; yet so far prevailed, that they consented to sacrifice the estate and liberty of Sir Arthur Haslerig ; and that Sir Henry Vane, with Maj.-Gen. Lambert, should be excepted both for life and estate ; with this reserve, That if, upon trial, they should be found guilty, the two houses then to join in a petition to the King for the pardon of their lives. But the Lords finding they could not bring the Commons to a full compliance in the matter of exceptions, desired another conference ; which being agreed, the Chancellor, after he had endeavoured to persuade them, that the difference between the two houses was rather in form than substance, offered for an expedient, that no sentence to be pronounced against any of those that had been added by the Lords, should be executed otherwise than by act of parliament ; telling them, he assured himself they would accept this proposition ; and hoped also, that none of the King's judges, who, after their surrender, might withdraw themselves from their protection, should participate of this favour : which last clause I took to be particularly levelled at me ; having been informed, that the Serjeant's deputy, attended with soldiers, had very lately searched my house.

At last the Commons, partly from inclination, and partly for their own safety, consented to pass the alterations as they had been made by the Lords, (or rather by the King) : which business being over, the house ordered the Serjeant at Arms to deliver those of the King's judges who were in his custody, into the hands of the Lieutenant of the Tower. They were, Col. Adrian Scroop, Mr. William Heveningham,

Mr. George Fleetwood, Col. James Temple, Mr. Peter Temple, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Simon Mayne, Col. Thomas Wayt, Col. John Downs, Col. Vincent Potter, Mr. Henry Martin, Col. Edmund Harvey, Alderman Isaac Pennington, Mr. Gilbert Millington, Col. Robert Lilburn, Mr. Augustine Garland, and Col. Owen Rowe. Sir Hardress Waller, who had been in France, returned to England upon the proclamation, and rendered himself; but finding his surrender not like to answer his expectation, he had withdrawn, together with Alderman Titchburn, from the Serjeant at Arms; yet, upon farther consideration, they both came in. So that, when, by order of the house, the Serjeant was called to give an account of his prisoners, and had acquainted them that I was not to be found, a motion was made to add my name to those who were excepted, both for life and estate: but one Mr. Swanton, a member of this house, and my countryman, moving, that before they should proceed to extremities, they would examine the bond I had given for my appearance, to see if I had broken the condition; they let it drop for that time, hoping, that, by this seeming gentleness, I might be persuaded to submit.

Information of these things being sent to me by the above mentioned Mr. Swanton, and Col. Henley, who was also a member, I repaired privately to London, in order to consult with some friends touching the course I should take in this conjuncture. Upon which my wife went to Sir Harbottle Grimston, then Speaker of the house; and finding him still to persist in his advice for my surrender, she took the liberty to say, That she apprehended great danger in that counsel; because

because she thought those, who, to gratify the court, had already so far receded from their own resolutions, and permitted that persons who had rendered themselves upon the faith of the late proclamation, should be excepted both as to life and estate, though with the limitation mentioned, might justly be suspected of being capable to be drawn yet farther; and to consent, that, after they should be declared guilty, an act might pass for putting the sentence in execution. But though it were supposed, that this house would never be induced to such an action; yet they might be dissolved, and the persons excepted kept in prison, till such should be procured to sit in that place who would not be so scrupulous; especially since it was visible, that the clause of limitation was so doubtful, that it might afford a pretence for interpreting it to be intended not only of this, but of any parliament that should think fit to use their power against the persons excepted. The Speaker seemed much offended with this discourse; and, going down the stairs with her, told her, he would wash his hands of my blood; by assuring her, that if I would surrender myself, my life would be as safe as his own; but if I refused to hearken to his advice, and should happen to be seized, I was like to be the first man they would execute, and she to be left the poorest widow in England. But another of my friends, who was well acquainted with the designs of the court, and had all along advised me not to trust their favour, now repeated his persuasions to withdraw out of England; assuring, that if I staid, I was lost: and that the same fate attended Sir Henry Vane, and others, notwithstanding all engagements to

the contrary. He added, that there was a design on foot to seize the estates of all those who had been outlawed in the late King's time; of which number my father having been one, it would be difficult for me to escape ruin on that account. This advice of my friend, whom I had always found to be entirely sincere, and knew to be well informed of affairs, was of great weight to induce me to resolve upon departing from England. In which resolution I was confirmed by the friendly counsel of the Lord Ossory, eldest son to the Marquis of Ormond; who, with divers others that had observed the inconstancy and irresolution, to say no worse, of those in the house of Commons, in sacrificing Mr. Carew and Col. Scroop to the revenge of the enemy, concurred in giving the same advice.

The time appointed for my departure from England being come, after I had settled my affairs in the best manner I could, and taken leave of my dearest friends and relations, I went into a coach about the close of the day; and passing through the city over London-bridge to St. George's church in Southwark, I found a person ready to receive me with two horses; one of which I mounted, and began my journey. My guide was so well acquainted with the country, that we avoided all the considerable towns on the road, where we suspected any soldiers might be quartered; and the next morning by break of day we arrived at Lewis without interruption. On the Tuesday following, a small vessel being prepared for my transportation, I went on board; but the wind blowing hard, and the vessel having no deck, I removed into another that had been

been provided for me by a merchant of Lewis, and was struck upon the sands as she was falling down to receive me. This vessel had carried over Mr. Richard Cromwel some weeks before, and lay very commodiously for my safety on that occasion: for after I had entered into her to secure myself from the weather, till I might put to sea in the other, the searchers came on board my small vessel to see what she carried; omitting to search that in which I was, not suspecting any person or thing to be in her, because she was struck upon the sands. But the storm still continuing, and the men thinking not fit to put to sea, we continued in the harbour all that day, and the night following. The master, who had used the ports of Ireland whilst I had been in that country, among other things, inquired if Lt. Gen. Ludlow were not imprisoned with the rest of the King's judges: to which I answered, That I had not heard of any such thing.

The next morning we set sail, and had the wind so favourable, that we arrived in the harbour of Dieppe that evening before the gates were shut; where going ashore, I was conducted by the master, to the house of one Madame de Caux, to whom I was recommended; where I was received with all possible demonstrations of civility; the Gentlewoman leaving it to my choice, either to continue at her habitation in Dieppe, or to go to her house in the country: which last I chose to do, as well that I might enjoy the liberty of taking the air, as to avoid the Irish, who were in great numbers in the town, and who probably might have seen me in Ireland when I served the parliament. I had not been many days in this place, when I received letters from  
England,



England, with a printed proclamation inclosed, taking notice that I had withdrawn myself from the officer's custody, forbidding any person to receive or entertain me under pain of high displeasure; requiring all persons to seize and secure my person, and proposing the sum of 300*l.* as a reward for those who should perform this service. These letters, accompanied with the earnest desires of my friends for my removal to some place more distant from England, obliged me to think of leaving that place; and accordingly having prepared myself for my journey, and taken leave of the good family where I had been so kindly received and entertained, I set forward for Geneva, and passing by Roan, a place of great trade, and the seat of one of the French parliaments, I arrived in three days at Paris. In this town I viewed such things as were accounted remarkable, passing several days in this exercise. The Louvre seemed to me rather like a garrison than a court, being very full of soldiers and dirt. I saw the King's stable of horses, which, though not extraordinarily furnished, gave me more pleasure than I should have received by seeing their master, who thinks fit to treat them better than his miserable people. But I lothed to see such numbers of idle drones, who in ridiculous habits, wherein they place a great part of their religion, are to be seen in every part, eating the bread of the credulous multitude, and leaving them to be distinguished from the inhabitants of other countries by thin cheeks, canvas cloathing, and wooden shoes.

Having made what stay I thought necessary in Paris, and taken bills of exchange for Geneva, I departed for Lyons, in the company of a German



man Lord; from whom I received great civilities during the journey. Being arrived at Lyons; though the rest of the company were examined, and obliged to give in their names; yet, by I know not what accident, none of the officers asked me any question of that nature, but permitted me to go quietly to the inn that had been taken up for us; where we were no sooner entered, than divers friars of different orders crouded in to beg, or rather to command something; one of these behaving himself in so lewd a manner, to a youth who came in our company from Paris, as obliged me to shew my resentment of his impudence. The next day after my arrival at Lyons, I set forward for Geneva; continuing my journey without interruption, till I came to the Recluse, about six leagues distant from that city; where the King of France keeps a garrison, because it lies upon his frontier. Here I was informed, that they would examine us strictly, and oblige us to lodge our arms with them; but they only desired money to drink, which I willingly gave. The same day I passed the river Rhone; and understood that I was then within the territories of Geneva; which was no small satisfaction to me, hoping I might enjoy some measure of quiet in that free city, and perhaps the society of some of my friends and countrymen; divers of whom I knew had been necessitated to retire into foreign parts.

At Geneva I took up my lodgings in the house of one Monsr. Perrot, who, having served in the army of the parliament, understood the English tongue. And having heard that Mr. William Cawley, an able and ancient member of parliament, had passed through part of France, I hoped

ped to find him in this place : but, upon inquiry, I was informed, that there were no Englishmen in the town, except one Mr. Felton, and his servant. In the house where I lodged, the mistress being an English woman, I found good beer ; which was a great refreshment to me, after the fatigue of my journey, and constant use of wines, by which my body had been much distempered with rheums. The next day after my arrival, I received a bill of exchange, inclosed in a letter from Mons. Marga, a banker of Paris, for 600 crowns, payable by a merchant of Geneva : but, having a considerable sum remaining of the stock I brought with me from London, and received no advice of that supply, I writ to Mons. Marga, to keep the money in his hands till I should receive letters from my friends.

I had not been here many days, before I was informed, that various reports had been raised in England concerning me ; some saying, that I had been taken as I was endeavouring to make my escape in a disguise ; others, that, upon notice given that I was concealed at the house of a country-man, some persons coming to seize me, and offering money to that purpose, the man of the house refusing the offer, had caused me to be conveyed from thence by a private way. These things being believed by many, served to amuse my enemies ; who suspected me to be still in England, and doubting the fidelity of the army, doubled their diligence to find me out. But my friends and relations, being advised of my retirement, were not at all disturbed at their proceedings.

The convention, before their adjournment, had referred to the King the things in dispute  
between

between the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties; who, in prosecution of their desires, required them to consider, how far each party could condescend for mutual accommodation. The Presbyterians finding the tide to be against them, agreed with the Bishops in many particulars; desiring only to be dispensed with in wearing the surplice, reading some parts of the liturgy, and using some ceremonies: on which conditions they promised to subject themselves to the Bishops, as superintendants of the church, if some Ministers might be joined with them in the act of ordination. These propositions and condescensions being communicated to the Bishops, and those of the Bishops to the Presbyterians, it was soon perceived by discerning men, that these two competitors for ecclesiastical power and riches, would not be easily brought to agree. However, the King thinking fit to temporise as long as the army was on foot, appointed a conference between the disagreeing parties, at which he was present in person; where tho' the Bishops appeared as inflexible as before, yet the King, for the reason above mentioned, thought convenient to publish a declaration, forbidding the liturgy, surplice, and some ceremonies, to be imposed upon those who should be unwilling to use them. Which shew of moderation took so much with the Presbyterians, who were ready to stretch their consciences to the utmost, that they presented their humble thanks to him for this favour. The like method was observed to lay those asleep who had purchased the church-lands, and who promised themselves full satisfaction, according to the message from Breda; commissioners being appointed for that end.

end. But after they had sat once or twice, and heard bitter invectives against the late sales, as sacrilegious, the purchasers finding them for the most part to be of the same opinion, were quite discouraged from any farther prosecution of that matter.

In the mean time the business of the country Gentlemen who were members of this convention, was, during their adjournment, to be assisting in the raising those great sums of money they had laid upon the people. For the payment of which, the intended disbanding of the army afforded a most plausible pretence; that the laws, as they said, might run in their proper channel, without impediment or controul; but indeed that the men in power might deliver themselves from the fears of those who had reduced the government within its proper channel, and that the word of their King, with the assistance of an inconsiderate party, might pass for a law without controul.

The first letters I received from England after my arrival at Geneva, informed me, that Maj.-Gen. Harrison, Mr. John Carew, Chief Justice Coke, Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Gregory Clement, Col. Adrian Scroop, Col. John Jones, Col. Francis Hacker, and Col. Daniel Axtel, being accused of having contributed in their several stations to the death of the King, had been condemned and executed. This important business had been delayed during the time Mr. Love was to continue Sheriff of London; he being no way to be induced, either for fear or hopes, to permit juries to be packed, in order to second the designs of the court. But after new Sheriffs had been chosen, more pro-  
per

per to serve the present occasion, a commission for hearing and determining this matter was directed to thirty four persons; of whom fifteen had actually engaged for the parliament against the late King, either as members of parliament, judges, or officers in their army; most, if not all of them, the Lord Mayor excepted, having been put into places of trust and profit since the late revolution.

Col. George Monk being commissioned to be of this number, was not ashamed to sit among them; any more than Mr. Denzil Hollis, and the Earl of Manchester, who having been two of the six members designed by the late King for destruction, before the beginning of the war, and therefore personally concerned in the quarrel, had contributed the utmost of their endeavours to engage divers of the Gentlemen (upon whom they were now to sit as judges) on that side, were not contented to abandon them in this change, but assisted in condemning them to die for their fidelity to that cause which themselves had betrayed. Mr. Arthur Annesley, who had been also a member of the parliament whilst they made war against the King, was also one of this number. Finch, who had been accused of high treason twenty years before, by a full parliament, and who, by flying from their justice, had saved his life, was appointed to judge some of those who should have been his judges. And Sir Orlando Bridgman, who, upon his submission to Cromwel, had been permitted to practise the law in a private manner, and under that colour had served both as spy and agent for his master, was intrusted with the principal management of this tragical scene; and, in his

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charge to the grand jury, had the assurance to tell them, "That no authority, no single person, or community of men; not the people collectively or representatively, had any coercive power over the King of England." For proof of which assertion, he cited Spencer's case in the time of Edward II. And after ages may with as much reason cite the proceedings of this court for precedents of the same kind.

All things being prepared, and the court assembled at the session-house in the Old Bailey, Sir Hardress Waller, Maj.-Gen. Harrison, and Mr. Heveningham, were ordered to be set to the bar; where the indictment being read, containing many strange expressions, it was contrived, that Sir Hardress Waller, who was known to be a man that would say any thing to save his life, and was prepared to that purpose, should be first demanded whether he were Guilty, or Not guilty. Which being done, he, after a little shifting, according to the expectation of the bench, pleaded Guilty; taking the blood which had been shed during his employments in the army upon his own head. But when Maj.-Gen. Harrison was required to answer, he not only pleaded Not guilty, but justified the sentence passed upon the King, and the authority of those who had commissioned him to act as one of his judges. He plainly told them, when witnesses were produced against him, that he came not thither with an intention to deny any thing he had done, but rather to bring it to light; owning his name subscribed to the warrant for executing the King, to be written by himself; charging divers of those who sat on the bench, as his judges, to have been formerly as active  
for



for the cause in which he had engaged, as himself or any other person; affirming, that he had not acted by any other motive than the principles of conscience and justice: for proof of which he said it was well known, he had chosen to be separated from his family, and to suffer a long imprisonment, rather than to comply with those who had abused the power they had assumed to the oppression of the people. He insisted, that having done nothing in relation to the matter in question, otherwise than by the authority of the parliament, he was not justly accountable, either to this or any other inferior court; which being a point of law, he desired to have counsel assigned upon that head. But the court over-ruled; and by interrupting him frequently, and not permitting him to go on in his defence, they clearly manifested a resolution of gratifying the resentments of the court upon any terms. So that a hasty verdict was brought in against him. And the question being asked, If he had any thing to say why judgment should not pass? he only said, That, since the court had refused to hear what was fit for him to speak in his defence, he had no more to say. Upon which Bridgman pronounced the sentence. And, that the inhumanity of these men may the better appear, I must not omit, that the executioner, in an ugly dress, with a halter in his hand, was placed near the Major-General, and continued there during the whole time of his trial. Which action I doubt whether it was ever equalled by the most barbarous nations. But having learned to condemn such baseness, after the sentence had been pronounced against him, he said aloud, as he was withdrawing from the court, that he had no rea-

son to be ashamed of the cause in which he had been engaged. This sentence was so barbarously executed, that he was cut down alive, and saw his bowels thrown into the fire.

Mr. John Carew was a Gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Cornwall, educated in one of the universities, and at the inns of court. He had a plentiful estate; and being chosen to serve in the great parliament, he was elected into the council of state, and employed in many important affairs; in which he shewed great ability. He found the same usage from the court as Maj.-Gen. Harrison had done; being frequently interrupted, and counsel denied, though earnestly desired by him, in that point of law touching the authority by which he had acted. When he saw that all he could say was to no purpose, he frankly acknowledged, that he sat in the high court of justice, and had signed two warrants; one for summoning the court in order to the King's trial, and another for his execution. Upon this the court, who were well acquainted with the disposition of the jury, permitting him to speak, he said, That, in the year 1640, a parliament was called according to the laws and constitution of this nation; that some differences arising between the King and that parliament, the King withdrew his person from them; upon which the Lords and Commons declared ————— Here the court, being conscious that their cobweb-coverings were not sufficient to keep out the light of those truths he was going to produce, contrary to the liberty they had promised, interrupted him, under colour that what he was about to say, tended not only to justify the action for which he was accused,

sed, but to cast a ball of division among those who were present. But Mr. Carew going on to say, The Lords and Commons by their declaration ——— Judge Foster interrupted him again, and told him, he endeavoured to revive those differences which he hoped were laid asleep, and that he did so to blow the trumpet of sedition; demanding if he had ever heard, or could produce an act of parliament made by the Commons alone. To this he would have answered; but was not permitted to finish what he began to say, or hardly any one thing he endeavoured to speak in his defence during the whole trial: Mr. Arthur Annesley particularly charging him with the exclusion of the members in the year 1648, of which number he had been one. To which he only replied, That it seemed strange to find a man who sat as a judge on the bench, to give evidence as a witness in the court. These irregular proceedings, unbecoming a court of judicature, obliged Mr. Carew to address himself to the jury, leaving them to judge of the legality of his trial; and appealing to their consciences, whether he had been permitted to make his defence. But they, who were not to be diverted from the resolutions they had taken, without any regard to the manner of his trial, declared him guilty as he was accused.

Col. Adrian Scroop was accused for sitting as one of the judges in the high court of justice when the King was brought to answer as a prisoner at the bar, for signing one warrant for summoning that court together, and another for the execution of the King. He denied nothing of this; but pleaded the authority of the parliament in his justification: denying that he had

been acted by any motive of malice, as the indictment had untruly suggested; and asserting, that in what he had done relating to the King, he had followed the light of his reason, and the dictates of his conscience. At this trial the principal witness was that Brown, who, having been Major-General in the service of the parliament, and mentioned already in this work to be of a mercenary spirit, was now brought to betray a private conversation; and to depose, That talking one day with Col. Adrian Scroop in the Speaker's chamber, and telling him, that the condition of the nation was sad since the murder of the King, the Colonel had answered, That men had different opinions touching that matter; and being desired by the said Brown to explain himself, he told him, he should not make him his confessor. Though this evidence be in appearance very insignificant; yet, having influenced the house of Commons, as I mentioned before, 'tis not to be admired if it took effect with a jury in an inferior court; who, taking every thing said against the person accused for substantial proof, made no scruple of bringing him in guilty of treason.

Mr. Thomas Scot was on the same day brought to a trial, or rather to receive the sentence of condemnation. He was charged with sitting in the high court of justice at the King's trial, with signing the two warrants above mentioned, and desiring, that the following inscription might be engraved upon his monument, "Here lies  
 " Thomas Scot, who adjudged the late King  
 " to die." Divers witnesses were produced to prove these things; and among them Mr. William Lenthall, Speaker to the parliament; who,  
 though

though when the King entered the house of Commons, and had demanded of him the five members, he knew how to answer, "That he had  
" neither ears to hear, eyes to see, or mouth  
" to speak, except what the house gave," could now appear as evidence against Mr. Scot, for words spoken in parliament, which he was conscious to himself was a high breach of privilege; acquainting the court, that the person accused had justified in the house the proceedings against the King. Mr. Scot said in his defence, That whatever had been spoken in the house, ought not to be given in evidence against him, not falling under the cognisance of any inferior court, as all men knew; that for what he had done in relation to the King, he had the authority of parliament for his justification; that the court had no right to declare whether that authority were a parliament or not. And being demanded to produce one instance to shew that the house of Commons was ever possessed of such an authority, he assured them he could produce many. But having begun with the Saxon times, he was interrupted by the court, and told that the things of those ages were obscure. Finding he might not be permitted to proceed in that way, he took the liberty to tell them, that he could not see for what reason it was not as lawful for that house of Commons in which he had sat as a member, to make laws, as for the present convention, which had been called by *the authority of the keepers of the liberties of England*. "I had  
" the authority of parliament, the legislative authority, to justify me"——Here the court interrupted him. But having no reasons to give, Finch said in a passion, "Sir, if you speak to  
" this



“ this purpose again, I profess for my own part  
 “ I dare not hear any more. ’Tis a doctrine  
 “ so poisonous and blasphemous, that if you  
 “ proceed upon this point, I shall (and I hope  
 “ my Lords will be of the same opinion) desire,  
 “ that the jury may be immediately directed.”  
 Mr. Scot replied, “ My Lord, I thought you  
 “ would rather have been my counsel, as I think  
 “ ’tis the duty of your place. But in this mat-  
 “ ter I am not alone, neither is it my single o-  
 “ pinion. Even the secluded members owned  
 “ us to be a parliament; else why did they, sup-  
 “ ported by an armed force, intrude themselves  
 “ contrary to the resolutions of the house, in  
 “ order to procure the major vote for our dis-  
 “ solution?” To which Mr. Annesley answered,  
 That if the secluded members had not appeared  
 in parliament, and by that means put an end to  
 all pretences, the people had not so soon arri-  
 ved at their happiness. These, with many o-  
 ther things of equal force, being said by Mr.  
 Scot in his defence, rather to justify himself to  
 his country, than from any hopes of considera-  
 tion from those with whom he had to do; the  
 jury, as directed, found him guilty also.

Col. John Jones and Mr. Gregory Clement,  
 finding all that had been said in vindication of  
 the things objected against the Gentlemen who  
 had been already tried, to prove ineffectual, in-  
 formed the court, that they could say no more  
 than had been already alledged; and therefore  
 confessed the fact. Upon which they were de-  
 clared guilty, as the persons before mentioned  
 had been.

On the 13th of November 1660, the sentence  
 which had been pronounced in consequence of  
 the

the verdict, was executed upon Maj.-Gen. Harrison, at the place where Charing-cross formerly stood, that the King might have the pleasure of the spectacle, and inure himself to blood; on the 15th, Mr. John Carew suffered there also: even their enemies confessing, that more steadiness of mind, more contempt of death, and more magnanimity, could not be expressed. To all who were present with them, either in prison, or at the place where the sentence was executed, they owned, that, having engaged in the cause of God and their country, they were not at all ashamed to suffer in the manner their enemies thought fit; openly avowing the inward satisfaction of their minds when they reflected upon the actions for which they had been condemned; not doubting the revival of the same cause, and that a time should come when men would have better thoughts of their persons and proceedings.

Mr. John Coke, late Chief Justice of Ireland, had in his younger years seen the best part of Europe; and at Rome had spoken with such liberty and ability against the corruptions of that court and church, that great endeavours were used there to bring him into that interest. But he, being resolved not to yield to their solicitations, thought it no longer safe to continue among them; and therefore departed to Geneva, where he resided some months in the house of Signior Gio. Diodati, Minister of the Italian church in that city; after which he returned to England, and applied himself to the study of the laws; and in that profession became so considerable, that he was appointed by the high court of justice to be their Solicitor at the King's trial.

I have already said, that he was seized and imprisoned by Sir Charles Coote; who, joining with Monk in his treachery to the commonwealth, sent him over to England, that he might sacrifice him to his new master, in satisfaction for the blood of his party which he himself had formerly shed. Being brought to his trial, he was accused of preferring, in the name of all the good people of England, an impeachment of high treason to the high court of justice against the late King; that he had signed the said impeachment with his own hand; that, upon the King's demurrer to the jurisdiction of the court, he had pressed that the charge might be taken for confessed; and therefore had demanded judgment from the court against the King. But this indictment being more particularly charged upon him in the three following articles,

1. That he, with others, had propounded, counselled, contrived, and imagined the death of the late King;
2. That, to bring about this conspiracy, he, with others, had assumed authority and power to accuse, kill, and murder the King;
3. That a person unknown did cut off the King's head; and that the prisoner was abetting, aiding, assisting, countenancing, and procuring the said person so to do,

he answered, 1<sup>st</sup>, That he could not be justly said to have contrived or counselled the death of the King; because the proclamation for the King's trial, even by the confession of his accuser, was published on the 9<sup>th</sup> of January, which was the day before he was appointed Solicitor to the high court of justice. In the 2<sup>d</sup> place,  
Though

Though the court should not admit that to be an act of parliament, which authorised him to do what he did; yet he assured himself, they would allow it to be an order; which was enough to justify him. 3dly, That he, who had neither been accuser, witness, jury, judge, or executioner, could not be guilty of treason in this case. He urged, That, having acted only as counsel, he was not answerable for the justice or injustice of the cause he had managed; that, being placed in that station by a public command, it could not be said he had acted maliciously, or with a wicked intention, as the indictment mentioned; that words spoken do not amount to treason, much less when set down in writing by the direction of others; especially since no clear proof had been produced, that his name subscribed to the charge against the King was written by himself. He said, That to pray and demand justice, though injustice be done upon it, could not be treason within the statute; that when he demanded justice, it might be meant of acquittal, as well as of condemnation; and that if it should be accounted treason in a counsellor to plead against the King, it must also be felony to plead against any man who may be unjustly condemned for felony: that the high court of justice, though now called tyrannical and unlawful, was yet a court, had officers attending them, and many think had authority, there being then no other in this nation than that which gave them their power; and if this will not justify a man for acting within his own sphere, it will not be lawful for any one to exercise his profession, unless he may be sure of the legality of the establishment under which he acts. These  
and

and divers other things of no less weight he said in his defence: but the cabal thinking themselves concerned to prevent the like in time to come, and to terrify those who were not only able, but willing also to be employed in such service, procured from the jury a verdict of condemnation against him, according to their desire.

The charge against Mr. Hugh Peters was, for compassing and imagining the death of the King, by conspiring with Oliver Cromwel at several times and places, and procuring the soldiers to demand justice; by preaching divers sermons, to persuade the soldiery to take off the King; comparing him to Barabbas; and applying part of a psalm where it is said, *They shall bind their Kings in chains, &c.* to the proceedings against him; assuring them, that if they would look into their Bibles, they should find there, *That whoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; and that neither the King nor any other person are excepted from this general rule. He was also accused of saying, that the Levites, Lords and Lawyers, must be taken away, in order to establish a commonwealth; that the King was a tyrant, and that the office itself was chargeable, useless, and dangerous. These, with other things of like nature, being sworn against him, Mr. Peters said in his defence, That the war began before he came into England; that, since his arrival, he had endeavoured to promote sound religion, the reformation of learning and the law, and employment of the poor; that, for the better effecting these things, he had espoused the interests of the parliament, in which he had acted without malice, avarice,



or ambition; and that, whatever prejudices or passions might possess the minds of men, yet there was a God who knew these things to be true. It was not expected that any thing he could say should save him from the revenge of the court; and therefore he was without hesitation brought in guilty. This person had been a Minister in England for many years, till he was forced to leave his native country, by the persecution set on foot, in the time of Abp Laud, against all those who refused to comply with the innovations and superstitions which were then introduced into the public worship. He went first into Holland, and from thence to New-England; where, after some stay, being informed that the parliament had relieved the people in some measure from the abuses in church and state, and designed to perfect that work, he returned to England; and in all places, and on all occasions, encouraged the people to appear vigorously for them. Having passed some time in England, he was made chaplain to a brigade that was sent against the Irish rebels; and observing the condition of the plundered Protestants in that country to deserve compassion, he went into Holland, and improved the interest he had there with so good success, that he procured about 30,000 l. to be sent from thence into Ireland for their relief. He was a diligent and earnest solicitor for the distressed Protestants of the vallies of Piedmont, who had been most inhumanely persecuted, and reduced to the utmost extremities, by the tyranny of the Duke of Savoy; and in gratitude to the Hollanders for the sanctuary he had found among them in the time of his distress, he was not a little serviceable to

them in composing their differences with England in the time of Cromwel.

An order being made, that the Chief Justice Coke and Mr. Peters should die on the same day, they were carried on two sleds to the place appointed for the execution of the sentence that had been pronounced against them; the head of Maj.-Gen. Harrison being placed on that which carried the Chief Justice, with the face uncovered, and directed towards him: which was so far from producing the designed effect, that he not only seemed to be animated with courage, from the reflexion he might make upon that object, but the people every where expressed their detestation of such usage. At the place of execution, among other things, he declared, that he had used the utmost of his endeavours that the practice of the law might be regulated, and that the public justice might be administered with as much expedition and as little expence as possible; and that he had suffered a more than ordinary persecution from those of his own profession on that account. He said, he understood not the meaning of the court, when they affirmed, that if the Lords and Commons had brought the King to the bar, it had been treason in them; and as to the part he had in the action with which he was charged, he was so far from repenting what he had done, that he was most ready to seal it with his blood. Here the Sheriff rudely interrupting him, he replied, That it had not been the custom in the most barbarous nations, much less in England, to insult over a dying man; adding, that he thought he was the first who had ever suffered death for demanding justice.

When

When this victim was cut down, and brought to be quartered, one Col. Turner called to the Sheriff's men to bring Mr. Peters to see what was doing. Which being done, the executioner came to him, and rubbing his bloody hands together, asked him, how he liked that work? He told him, he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worst. And when he was upon the ladder, he said to the Sheriff, "Sir, You have butchered one of the servants of God before my eyes, and have forced me to see it, in order to terrify and discourage me: but God has permitted it for my support and encouragement."

On the 16th of October, Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Gregory Clement were drawn in one sled, and Col. Adrian Scroop with Col. John Jones in another, to Charing-cross, in order to suffer death as the rest had done. Mr. Scot was a Gentleman, who, having been educated in the university of Cambridge, had lived privately in the country, till, upon a recruit of members to serve in the parliament, he was chosen to be of their number; and in that station carried himself with such constancy and zeal for the service of the commonwealth, that, during the interruption of the parliament by Cromwel, the country in which he lived, as a mark of their esteem, chose him to serve them as often as there was occasion. When the parliament was a second time interrupted by the army, he held a constant correspondence with Monk for their restitution; in which he was very instrumental, as well by causing the letters he received from Monk, declaring his resolution to live and die with the parliament, to be printed and published, as by o-

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ther services. He had been several times chosen a member of the council of state. And the parliament being again restored, they appointed him to be Secretary to that board, and deputed him for one of the two commissioners they sent to accompany Monk in his march to London. To this Gentleman Monk solemnly swore at St. Alban's, that he would be faithful to the parliament. In confidence of which, when Mr. Scot had resumed his place in the house, he undertook so largely for his integrity. But when his treachery was too manifest, he endeavoured to pass beyond the seas, and was taken by pirates; who, having plundered him, set him ashore in Hampshire: yet, by the assistance of his friends, he procured another vessel to land him in Flanders; where he was no sooner arrived, but he was seized by an agent for the King. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, then Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, who had been Ambassador for the King of Spain in England during the government of the commonwealth, remembering the particular obligations he had to Mr. Scot, caused him to be set at liberty. Being freed from these dangers, and afterwards finding his name to be inserted among others of the King's judges who were required to render themselves if they expected any benefit by the act of indemnity; in confidence at least of saving his life, he surrendered himself to the English agent within the time limited by the proclamation. And though he was thus insnared, yet he was not unwilling to confirm what he had done with the testimony of his blood; which he did with the greatest demonstrations of chearfulness and satisfaction of mind. He attempted several times to  
speak

Speak to the people at the place of execution, in justification of that cause for which he was to die: but those who feared nothing so much as truth, interrupted him so often, that he found himself obliged to say, "That surely it must be  
" a very bad cause which cannot suffer the words  
" of a dying man."

Mr. Gregory Clement, being the next that suffered, was a citizen and merchant of London, who, by trading to Spain, had raised a very considerable estate. He was chosen a member of the parliament about the year 1646, and discharged that trust with great diligence; always joining with those who were most affectionate to the commonwealth, though he never was possessed of any place of profit under them. Being appointed one of the commissioners for the trial of the King, he durst not refuse his assistance in that service. He had no good elocution, but his apprehension and judgment were not to be despised. He declared before his death, that nothing troubled him so much as his pleading Guilty at the time of his trial, to satisfy the importunity of his relations; by which he said he had rendered himself unworthy to die in so glorious a cause.

Col. Adrian Scroop was descended of an ancient family, and possessed of a considerable estate. His port and mien was noble, and the endowments of his mind every way answerable. He appeared early in the army of the parliament, being present and engaged at the battle of Edge-hill, in the head of a troop of horse, which he had raised. He was first advanced to the degree of a Major, and soon after appointed to be Colonel of a regiment of horse. He had been, for several years, Governor of the castle



of Bristol; and when the parliament thought fit to flight that garrison, they made him one of their commissioners for the civil government of Scotland, in conjunction with the Lord Broghill, Monk, and others. In all these employments, he manifested such abilities and fidelity, that the parliament appointed him to be one of the commissioners for the trial of the late King; in which place he acted with all the impartiality that becomes a judge in whom so great a trust is reposed, and who ought to be no respecter of persons. The hard measure he received from the convention at Westminster, I have already mentioned. It remains only to give some account of what he said at the place where he suffered death; which was to this purpose: That though he had been accustomed to be seen in better places, and other kind of circumstances; yet it being the will of God he should be brought into this condition, he submitted chearfully; that he never had entertained malice against any man; and that he now wished no ill either to the jury who found him guilty, or to the judges who pronounced sentence; or even to the person by whose means he was brought to that place, who, he presumed, was so well known, that it was not necessary to name him. He said, he should not boast of his birth, or education, or the private conduct of his life; because he was going to appear before a tribunal where all men must come, and where the justice or injustice of every action would be manifest; desiring the people in the mean time not to think uncharitably of him, for he was firmly persuaded he suffered for the cause of God and his country.

Col. John Jones, who next appeared on this  
bloody

bloody theatre, was a Gentleman of a competent estate in North-Wales, and so well beloved in his country, that he did considerable service to the public cause by his interest in those parts. He reduced the isle of Anglesea to the obedience of the commonwealth, and was soon after chosen to serve in parliament for that place. He had been one of the council of state; and in the year 1650 was constituted one of the commissioners of parliament for managing the civil affairs of Ireland. This trust he discharged, during the course of divers years, with great diligence, ability, and integrity, in providing for the happiness of that country, and bringing to justice those who had been concerned in the murders of the English Protestants. When the great parliament was restored to the exercise of their authority, after their long interruption, they chose him to be one of those eight persons to whom they committed the care of the public safety, till they could establish a council of state. Of this also he was chosen a member, and soon after sent by the parliament to his former trust in Ireland; where he continued till the late change. Being drawn to Charing-cross on the same sled with Col. Scroop, the gravity and graceful mien of these aged Gentlemen, accompanied with visible marks of fortitude and internal satisfaction, surprised the spectators with admiration and compassion.

Col. Daniel Axtel was next brought to trial. The chief heads of the indictment against him were, That he commanded the guards both at the trial and execution of the King; that he ordered the soldiers, in a tumultuous manner, to demand justice, and afterwards execution; that he

he threatened to shoot a Lady, who, from a gallery that was near the court where the King was tried, had contradicted the president when he was speaking concerning the charge; that he sent for and encouraged the executioner; and that he had upbraided with cowardice one of the persons to whom the warrant for seeing execution done upon the King was directed, for refusing to sign it. And these, with some other things of less weight, were called compassing and imagining the death of the King. Col. Hercules Huncks, who was one of the three to whom the said warrant had been directed; one of the forty halberdiers attending the high court of justice, and one who had opposed with more than ordinary vehemence all those who were for the King, was the principal witness against him. Col. Ax-tel, having first acknowledged his ignorance in matters of law, and therefore desiring that no undue advantages might be taken against him on that account, proceeded to speak to this effect: That the war was made by the joint authority of the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament, who claimed a right of employing the military force of the nation for the public safety; as appears by divers acts and declarations published by their order. This authority raised an army; made the Earl of Essex General, then the Earl of Manchester, of the forces of the eastern association; and after that created and authorised Sir Thomas Fairfax to be General of all their forces. “ Under this authority (said he) I  
 “ acted; which I conceive to be legal, because  
 “ this parliament was not only called by the  
 “ King’s writ, and chosen by the people, but  
 “ also because a bill had passed, that they should  
 “ not

“ not be dissolved otherwise than by their own  
“ consent. Having this unquestionable authority for my justification, I presume my case  
“ comes not within the reach of the statute 25th  
“ Edward III. which could by no means intend  
“ such a power as was not only owned and obeyed at home, but acknowledged by princes  
“ and states abroad, to be the chief authority of  
“ the nation, by sending agents and ambassadors to them. The judges, who ought to be  
“ the eye and guide of the people, acted under  
“ them, divers of them publicly declaring, that  
“ it was lawful and justifiable to obey the parliament. But if their acts may not be accounted  
“ such, though they carried that title, and  
“ were obeyed by the judges, ministers, officers  
“ of state, and the whole nation; yet surely  
“ they cannot be denied to be orders of parliament; which would be sufficient to justify  
“ any man who acted by them. This parliament so constituted, so acknowledged, and so  
“ obeyed, having made choice of a person to  
“ be General of their forces, I was by that General, in virtue of the authority he had received from them, constituted an officer under  
“ him. And therefore, whatever I have done,  
“ was as a soldier, and according to the duty of  
“ my office: for if I was in Westminster-hall at  
“ the time of the King’s trial, I was there by a  
“ command of the General. And if it be so  
“ great a crime to have been an officer in that  
“ army which was raised by the parliament, the  
“ Earls of Essex and Manchester, the Lord General Fairfax, Monk, and others, who have  
“ acted by the same authority, were no less criminal than myself.” He cited the declarations

tions of the Lords and Commons, published when they engaged the people to take arms ; in which they asserted, that it was repugnant to reason, that the judgment and actions of the parliament might not be a rule and guide to the nation in their duty ; and declared, that the persons who should act under their authority, ought not to be questioned for so doing. He therefore presumed, that an inferior court would not expound the law contrary to the judgment of the high court of parliament ; adding, that if the house of Commons, who are the representatives of the whole nation, may be guilty of treason, it will follow, that all the people of England, who chose them, are guilty also ; and then where will a jury be found to try this cause ?

“ My commission is dated the 27th of March  
 “ 1648, ten months before the King’s death.  
 “ The commission by which Gen. Fairfax was  
 “ authorised to give mine to me, he received  
 “ from the Lords and Commons assembled in  
 “ parliament. I did nothing but my duty in  
 “ going to my regiment : for if the General  
 “ says, Go to such a place, and stay there ; if  
 “ I refuse, by the law of arms I am to die ; but  
 “ if I obey, it seems I am in danger also. The  
 “ question therefore in law, I humbly conceive,  
 “ will be this, and I desire it may be truly and  
 “ fairly stated, *Whether a man who is guided by*  
 “ *the judgment of the Lords and Commons as-*  
 “ *sembled in parliament, acting only according*  
 “ *to that judgment of parliament, and under*  
 “ *their authority, can be questioned for trea-*  
 “ *son?*” To this the counsel answering, That  
 he was not accused of levying war, but of assist-  
 ing at the trial and execution of the King, and  
 encouraging



encouraging the soldiers to clamour for justice and execution; the Colonel replied, That he was no more guilty than the General; that his presence in Westminster-hall was not voluntary, and that he was there by command. This he pressed so home upon the court, appealing to themselves for their judgment in the case, that they were necessitated to fly to their old refuge of questioning the authority by which he had acted. To the rest of the evidence he said, That if any Lady had talked aloud during the time of the King's trial, to the interruption and disturbance of the court, he supposed it was no treason to bid her hold her tongue; that if he smiled, as Col. Temple deposed, it could not amount to so great a crime; that if some soldiers did cry out justice, it was not by his instigation; yet he hoped, that to desire justice, which is one of the principal attributes of God, is no treason. Having said these with many other things in his defence, he addressed himself to the jury, and acquainted them, that he left his case and his life in their hands.

In answer to these arguments, Bridgman, who was president of this assembly, contented himself with repeating that strange and unheard-of doctrine, "That no person whatsoever, nor community; not the people either collectively or representatively, have any coercive power over the King." For this he quoted some precedents as little to the purpose as the assertion itself; and then concluded the case to be so clear, that the jury needed not to stir from the bar. It soon appeared that he knew the men: for they fully answered his expectations; and, as they were directed, without any difficulty, declared  
Col.

Col. Axtel to be guilty of the treason with which he had been charged.

Col. Francis Hacker being appointed to appear also in this tragical scene, he was brought to the bar ; where an indictment for compassing and imagining the death of the King was read against him : and to prove the accusation, witnesses were produced ; who deposed, That he was one of the persons that were upon the guard, and kept the King prisoner ; that the warrant for seeing the sentence that had been pronounced by the high court of justice put in execution, was directed to him with others ; that, in prosecution of that commission, he had signed a warrant for executing the King ; and that he took the King, by virtue of the warrant he had received, out of the custody of Col. Thomlinson, and conducted him to the scaffold on which he had been put to death. Col. Hacker excepted not against any of the jury, finding all of them to be of the same stamp ; and said little more in his defence, than that he had acted by the command of his superiors, and that he had always endeavoured to serve his country in all his public actions. So that his trial was quickly dispatched, and he declared guilty of high treason. He was a Gentleman of a considerable estate, derived to him from his ancestors, who lived in the county of Leicester. He had passed through several degrees of command in the service of the parliament ; and particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Worcester, in the head of a regiment of horse, which he had raised on that occasion for the defence of his country. He refused his assistance to support the usurpation of Mr. Richard Cromwel, though he had forced a knighthood,

as it is called, upon him, and presented him with two swords; refusing to obey his orders, and joining with the commonwealth-party in his deposition. He had continued in the command of his regiment till he was taken in custody; having had assurances from Monk, that he should be fully indemnified. So that when he came to London, he made a visit to Monk, and was received with all the appearances of friendship and affection. But the next day after he had been thus caressed, he was seized, examined, and sent to the Tower.

Col. Daniel Axtel had been Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel in a regiment of foot; in the last of which employments he had assisted at the trial and execution of the late King. When Lt-Gen. Cromwell was sent by the parliament into Ireland with an army against the rebels, and the regiment in which Col. Axtel served was drawn out by lot for that expedition, he cheerfully undertook the employment; and for his fidelity, courage, and conduct, was soon preferred to the head of a regiment; and not long after was made Governor of Kilkenny, and the adjacent precinct; which important trust he discharged with diligence and success. In this station he shewed a more than ordinary zeal in punishing those Irish who had been guilty of murdering the Protestants. And on this account, as well as for what he had done in relation to the late King, the court had procured him to be excepted out of the act of indemnity.

Capt. William Hewlet was also accused, and tried, for cutting off the King's head, or at least for being one of the persons that stood masked upon the scaffold during his execution: and

though divers creditable witnesses deposed, that Gregory Bandon, who was common hangman, had confessed and owned to have executed the King; yet the jury found him guilty of the indictment. But the court, being sensible of the injury done to him, procured his reprieve.

Those whom I mentioned before to have been excepted both for life and estate, with a reserve, that if upon trial they should be found guilty, sentence of death should not be executed against any of them, except by act of parliament, were brought to be tried before this court; where some of them pleaded Guilty simply; but others, though they acknowledged the guilt, denied the malice; and some confessing the fact, denied the guilt. Of this last number was Col. Henry Martin; of whose trial I shall only mention some few of the most remarkable passages, and so leave this melancholy subject. For if I should give an account, though with all possible brevity, of what passed in the court during their session, together with what might be necessary to say concerning the persons accused, I should be carried too far from my purpose. Col. Henry Martin was charged with signing and sealing the precept for summoning the high court of justice; with signing the warrant for executing the King; with sitting in court almost every day of his trial, and particularly that on which he received the sentence of death. To these things he answered, That he declined not to acknowledge the matter of fact that was alledged against him, the malice imputed to him by the indictment set aside. Upon which, being told by one of the counsel, that he seemed to be of opinion, that a man might sit and adjudge a King to death, and

and sign a warrant for his execution, meekly, innocently, charitably, and honestly; he answered, That though he should not compare his knowledge in the law with that of such a learned Gentleman; yet, according to that little understanding he had been capable of acquiring, he presumed, that *no fact could be named, which in itself is a crime, but only as it is circumstantiated*; and to make good that assertion, gave several instances. But the counsel, to prove that he had acted maliciously, produced a person who deposed, that he signed the warrant merrily, and in a jesting way, as he was rallying with Lt-Gen. Cromwel. To which he replied, That such a way of doing a thing does by no means imply malice. The counsel, finding their insinuations and aggravations of the charge against him so easily blown away by these and other answers, made up with passion what they wanted in the weight of reason; the Solicitor-General exclaiming, “That all good people abhorred the action; and that he was sorry to see so little repentance.” To this the Colonel only said, He hoped that what was urged by the counsel, would not make that impression upon the court and jury as seemed to be designed; and that if it were possible for that blood to be in the veins again, and every drop of that which was shed in the late wars, he could wish it with all his heart: but he presumed it might be lawful to say in his own defence, that what he did, he thought at that time he might do. “There was, (said he), a house of Commons, as I understood it to be, though perhaps your Lordships think them not to have been a house of Commons: however, they were then the su-



“preme authority in England, and acknow-  
 “ledged and reputed so to be both at home  
 “and abroad. I suppose he who gives obedi-  
 “ence to the authority *de facto* in being, suffi-  
 “ciently shews himself to be of a peaceable  
 “temper, and far from a traitor. There was  
 “a statute made in the time of Henry VII. to  
 “indemnify all those who should take arms for  
 “a King *de facto*, though he were not so *de*  
 “*jure*. And if a supreme officer *de facto* can  
 “justify a war, I presume the supreme authori-  
 “ty in England, though *de facto* only, may  
 “justify a court of judicature. If it should be  
 “said, That the authority by which we acted  
 “was only one estate of three, and but part of  
 “that; I answer, It was all that was then ex-  
 “isting. And I have heard lawyers say, That  
 “if there be commons appurtenant to a tene-  
 “ment, and that the tenement be all burnt  
 “down except one small stick, the commons  
 “still belong to that small piece as much as  
 “when the tenement was all standing. I shall  
 “also humbly offer it to consideration, whether  
 “the late King, for some time before his trial,  
 “could truly and properly be called a King,  
 “who was not in the execution of his office,  
 “but made a prisoner, and no way concerned  
 “in the administration of public affairs.” But  
 notwithstanding these, and divers other things  
 which he said in his defence, with as much pre-  
 sence of mind as solidity of argument, he was  
 brought in guilty of the treason for which he  
 had been accused. In pursuance of which ver-  
 dict, the sentence of condemnation was passed  
 against him; the convention making no provi-  
 sion for securing the lives either of him or the  
 rest

rest of the Gentlemen that had been decoyed into a surrender of their persons, though they had implicitly promised them favour.

The army that had so long stood in the way of the court, was now wholly disbanded, except only Monk's regiment of foot; and that was balanced by a regiment of horse raised under colour of being a guard to the King. This, together with the payment of their arrears, and a liberty of trading in corporations, was the reward they received for their services, notwithstanding all the fair promises both of Monk and the King. And thus these men, who had accumulated treachery upon treachery, were dismissed with infamy: for the very acknowledgment that was made by the King, that they had been the chief instruments of his return, reproached them with infidelity to the parliament; and their own desires to be absolved from the guilt of their former actions, was a confession that they had been rebels to the King. However, the dissipation of these men was not caused by the King's aversion to a standing army; for the whole course of his life demonstrates the contrary: but being persuaded, that they who had already made so many changes in England, were able to bring about another, and to turn him out again with as little consideration as they had brought him in, he thought it most safe and necessary to free himself at once from such dangerous companions.

This work being accomplished, the court began to take off the mask. For though the King had published a declaration for accommodation in matters of public worship and ceremonies, and though the Episcopal party in the conven-

tion had patiently permitted a committee to be appointed to consider of that matter; yet, being delivered from the terror of the army, they opposed the report of the committee with such violence, that it was not thought fit to press it any more. By which means all the hopes of the Presbyterians vanished, and this mountain brought forth a mouse. The natural tendency of these things was so visible, that Mr. Prynne, who had manifested a more than ordinary zeal for disbanding the army, finding his expectations defeated, and the Presbyterian party so miserably deluded, after he had made report of the number of regiments that had been disbanded, desired the house, that they would be mindful not to do those things that might bring them together again. Upon which the adverse party fell upon him with that fury, that if the house had not risen immediately in great disorder, he had been obliged to explain himself at the bar.

But for all this, the convention, though called in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, as if they had designed to put the people beyond the hopes of any remedy, made a present to the King of the customs and excise during his life; besides other great sums charged upon the nation, to supply his present occasions. And though, before the passing of the bill of indemnity, they had seemed sensible, that they were in honour concerned to make provision for the security of the lives of those who, having sat as judges of the late King, had rendered themselves into their hands upon the proclamation which had been published by their advice; yet they not only abandoned those poor deluded Gentlemen who lay under the sentence  
of

of condemnation, and waited for the favour they had implicitly promised; but also passed a bill of attainder against those of the King's judges and other persons, who having been excepted out of the act, had escaped their hands; adding to other unusual clauses, "That all trusts for their use should be forfeited." But the Duke of York, upon whom these confiscated estates were bestowed, must be supplied by any means.

Henrietta Maria of France, widow to the late K. Charles, who had been a principal instrument to advise and encourage him in his illegal actions, passed over into England about this time; and being arrived at London, the house of Commons, in which were many persons who had been members of that parliament which had threatened to accuse her of high treason, not only congratulated her return, but presented her daughter, that had accompanied her in her journey, with the sum of 10,000 l. But notwithstanding all the flattering subserviency they could shew, and all that they could do to procure themselves to be thought fit for the service of the court; yet being not thoroughly principled to do the work of the church, they were acquainted, that they should be dissolved on the 24th of December next ensuing; against which time it was desired that all bills under consideration might be made ready. And lest the people should, upon the dissolution of this assembly, form a body of men, and assert their liberties; it was pretended, that a great plot to seize the King and the Tower, to kill the Queen, with all those that should be found of the French nation, and to restore the parliament, was carrying on throughout England. Under this colour,

Maj.-

Maj.-Gen. Overton, Col. Desborough, Col. Salmon, Lt-Col. Farley, Maj. Whitby, and divers other persons, were seized in London; and Col. Duckenfield, Maj. Anthony Morgan, and several others, were imprisoned in the country.

During the noise of this conspiracy, the Queen, accompanied by her daughter and Jermyn, returned to France; which induced many to believe, that she was terrified by the designs against her person. But she, who knew the plot to be no more than a fiction, had other real grounds for her departure. For having endeavoured to persuade her son to remove the Chancellor Hyde from his councils, and finding she effected nothing by her continual solicitations, she soon grew weary of England; where, though, by the importunity of the King, she had at last admitted the new Duchess of York to come into her presence; yet, by applying herself to other company, not desiring her to sit, and taking the first opportunity to withdraw from the room, she abundantly shewed that she thought her not worthy to be treated as a daughter. These were the principal, if not the only reasons that moved the Queen to quit the court of her son, and to retire into her own country; though, to give a better colour to her departure, and to conceal these domestic divisions, they made use of the pretences before mentioned.

On the day of the dissolution of the convention, Sir Harbottle Grimeston, who was their Speaker, made a speech to the King, filled with the greatest flattery. In answer to which, the Chancellor was no way sparing of compliments; applauding the wisdom of the house in the King's restitution, and their diligent endeavours to give  
his



his Majesty satisfaction, by settling things in such a manner as might prevent new disturbances and troubles. Yet he could not forbear to reflect upon them for not investing the King with the militia, (which he said had been the great bone of contention during the late war), nor declaring any thing concerning that matter, but leaving it uncertain as they found it, and consequently a foundation of new differences. To prevent which, and to secure the peace of the nation, he acquainted them, that the King would be constrained to establish it for the present, as formerly his predecessors had done. And to convince them of the necessity of this arbitrary proceeding, he took occasion to put them in mind of the late plot, (an admirable state-engine fitted for all times); telling them, That though the persons engaged in this conspiracy were only the lees of the people, yet small beginnings ought not to be neglected, especially considering that all things in this design had been brought to a head; that I had been nominated to command 2500 men in London, who were ready to seize the Tower; that the like number was enlisted under my command in the western parts of England; and that another person, whom he named not, had as many in the north ready to prosecute the same design. To give the best colour they could to these falsehoods, all places where it could be suspected I might lie concealed, were diligently searched; my wife was several times plundered of her wearing-cloaths; the lodgings of Col. Kempson, my brother-in-law, were ransacked, and many of his goods taken away; all my writings, which I had recommended to the care of a friend, were be-  
trayed

trayed by a servant in hopes of reward, and seized; and one who had waited on me in my chamber was imprisoned in the gate-house, where he lay ten weeks, because he could not discover where I was.

Col. John Barkstead and Col. Okey, with Col. Walton and Col. Dixwel, who had been commissioners in the high court of justice at the trial of the late King, having made their escape from England into Germany, were received into protection at Hanau, and made burgessees of the town. Of these, Col. Barkstead and Col. Okey took a journey to Holland, to meet some relations who were contented to banish themselves with them, and to conduct them to the place which they had chosen for their residence. But one Mr. George Downing, who was agent for the King in Holland, and had formerly been a preacher, and chaplain to Col. Okey's regiment, having received information that such persons were in that country, obtained an order from the States-General for their seizure; by virtue of which they were taken, together with Mr. Miles Corbet, one of the King's judges also, sent into England in a ship of war, and committed prisoners to the Tower. Two things seemed especially remarkable in this action; the treachery of Downing, after he had given assurance to a person sent to him by Col. Okey to that end, that he had no orders to look after him; but chiefly the barbarous part acted by the States in this conjuncture; who, though they had themselves shaken off the yoke of tyranny, and to that time had made it a fundamental maxim, to receive and protect all those who should come among them; yet, contrary to the principles of  
their

their government, and the interest of their commonwealth, to say nothing of the laws of God, nature and nations, without any previous engagement to the court of England, contributed as much as in them lay to the destruction of these Gentlemen. But a treaty was to be made with England, and their trade secured at any rate, though the foundations should be laid in blood.

Mr. Miles Corbet was a Gentleman of an ancient family in the county of Norfolk. He had applied himself with diligence to the study of the laws of England in the society of Lincoln's-Inn; and, for the space of thirty seven years, had been chosen to serve his country in the several parliaments that were called. Being appointed one of the high court of justice for the trial of the late King, he appeared not among the judges by reason of some scruples he had entertained, till the day that sentence was pronounced. But, upon more mature deliberation, finding them to be of no weight, he durst no longer absent himself; coming early on that day into the court, that he might give a public testimony of his satisfaction and concurrence with their proceedings. He was afterwards by the parliament made one of their commissioners for the civil government of Ireland; in which employment he manifested such integrity, that though he was continued for many years in that station, yet he impaired his own estate for the public service, whilst he was the greatest husband of the treasure of the commonwealth. The day before his death, he assured his friends, that he was so thoroughly convinced of the justice and necessity of that action for which he was to die, that if the things had been yet entire, and to do, he could

could not refuse to act as he had done, without affronting his reason, and opposing himself to the dictates of his conscience; adding, that the immoralities, lewdness, and corruptions of all sorts, which had been introduced and encouraged since the late revolution, were no inconsiderable justification of those proceedings.

Col. John Barkstead was a citizen and goldsmith of London, who, being sensible of the invasions that had been made upon the liberties of the nation, took arms among the first for their defence, in the quality of Captain to a foot-company in the regiment of Col. Venn. He had not been long in this employment, before his merit advanced him to the degree of a Major; in which station he was made Governor of Reading: and afterwards being preferred to the command of a regiment, he was constituted by the parliament, in consideration of his services, Lieutenant of the Tower of London. When he was brought to confirm with the testimony of his blood that cause for which he had fought, he performed that part with chearfulness and courage, no way derogating from the character of a soldier and a true Englishman.

Col. ——— Okey was also a citizen of London, and one of those who appeared early in the service of the parliament. He had been first a Captain of foot, then a Captain of horse, and afterwards Major in the regiment of Sir Arthur Haslerig. In the year 1645, at the time when the army was new modelled, he was made Colonel of a regiment of dragoons, which was afterwards converted into a regiment of horse. In these employments he distinguished himself by his courage, conduct, and fidelity; and, during  
the

the usurpation of Oliver Cromwel, was dismissed from his command in the army, on account of his affection to the commonwealth. He was chosen by the county of Bedford to represent and serve them in the convention that was called by Richard; and, after the restitution of the great parliament, they restored him to his command in the army. Being ready to suffer for that cause which he had strenuously defended, he said in the presence of many witnesses, that if he had as many lives as he had hairs on his head, he would willingly hazard them all on the same account. The sentence against these three Gentlemen having been executed on the 19th of April 1662, the King bestowed the body of Col. Okey upon his wife, to dispose as she thought fit. Upon which she ordered him to be interred at Stepney, where his first wife lay in a vault that he had purchased for himself and family. But the report of this funeral being spread among the people, several thousands of them assembled themselves in and about Newgate market, where the body lay, resolving to attend it to the grave. And though they behaved themselves with decency and modesty; yet the King, upon notice of this appearance, was so alarmed, that he revoked his grant to the Colonel's wife, dispatched orders to the Sheriff to disperse the company, and commanded the body to be interred in the Tower.

The report of the inhumanity of the States towards our friends being brought to Geneva, we began to doubt whether that little commonwealth, who were under great apprehensions of the King of France, might not, if our enemies could engage him to press them, follow the ex-



ample of the Dutch, and deliver us up also. We resolved therefore either to procure forthwith an assurance of safety for our persons, or to make the best provision we could for ourselves in some other place. To this end, we employed Mr. Perrot, our landlord, to discourse with Monsieur Voisin, the Principal Syndic, and to desire him to inform us what usage we might expect, in case we should be demanded of that state. The Syndic, upon this application, promised to serve us to the utmost of his power: assuring us, that if any letters should come to his hands concerning us, he would not only give us timely notice, but if such a thing should fall out in the night, he would cause the water-gate, of which he always kept the key, to be opened for our escape; and if we should be obliged to depart by day, we should have a free passage through any of the city-gates that we should chuse. To all which he added this farther promise, that when his brother Syndic, Monsieur Dupain, should return from Bern, where he then was, they would consult together how to make our residence more safe to us either by a public act or otherwise, as should be found most convenient. With these assurances I was fully satisfied, being, as I thought, as much as could be expected. But Mr. Lisle and Mr. Cawley, who were likewise in the same place, made many objections against our stay, and pressed Mr. Perrot, upon the return of Mr. Dupain, to put him upon conferring with Monsieur Voisin touching our affair. Mr. Perrot upon this went to the nephew of the said Monsieur Dupain, who was Procurator-General of Geneva; and by him was advised, that we should address ourselves in a public manner to the council  
for

for their protection. This way I opposed, as a thing not fit for us to ask, or the city to grant; lest they should be brought into difficulties, and perhaps danger, upon our account. But Mr. Perrot affirming, that the procurator was of opinion, that it was both easy and fit to be done, and that his brother, who was a leading man in the council, was of the same judgment; I thought they were best acquainted with their own affairs, and therefore resolved to let them proceed as they pleased. Having made their attempt, they found the success I expected. For the business being brought before the council, Monsieur Let, one of the Syndics, from whom the First Syndic had endeavoured to conceal his correspondence with us, expecting the payment of a great debt due to him from the King of England, or possibly inclining in his affections to that interest, not only obstructed the address, but charged those who had promoted it with a design of surprising the council. However, the council was so favourable, that though they thought not convenient to grant the request; yet, being unwilling to deny us their protection, they put off the farther consideration of that affair to another day; some of their members in friendship to us advising privately, that it should be withdrawn, which was done accordingly. In the mean time, that we might not be wanting to ourselves in this conjuncture, we made application to the Lords of the Swiss canton of Bern for their protection; in which we were most friendly assisted by Monsieur Bailival, Lieutenant-Governor of Laufanna, who had been lately put into that place upon the death of one Godward, the only

friend to monarchy, and enemy to our cause, that lived in that town.

Mr. Lisle and Mr. Cawley, meeting with this disappointment at Geneva, resolved to remove, and to that end hired a boat to carry them to Laufanna. I accompanied them to the water-side; and whilst I was taking leave, a letter was brought to me from the person we had employed to their Excellencies of Bern; in which I was assured, they had readily condescended to our desires. This was an encouragement to me to continue some time longer at Geneva; not doubting their protection when they should find us to be favoured and countenanced by their best friends and allies. Therefore a day or two after the departure of my two friends, I went to the Principal Syndic; and, having excused them as well as I could for leaving the town without waiting on him, I acquainted him, that the application to the council was made without my advice, and that I was before, as well as now, fully satisfied with the verbal engagement he had given for our security: which I had no sooner said, than he, not without discomposure, and, as I conjectured, fear, made answer, That he could no longer think himself obliged by his promises; having gone so far, in expectation that what had passed between us, should be kept secret; whereas now he thought the King of England might have notice of it. Upon this retraction, thinking it too hazardous to remain any longer at Geneva, I departed the next day, accompanied by a particular friend, for Laufanna; where we found Mr. Lisle and Mr. Cawley, who had received the act of protection from the Lords of Bern, granted under our own proper

per names: which I mention for their honour, who shewed their courage and generosity in owning us and our cause, when we had been abandoned by those whose true interest was the same with our own.

In the month of July 1662, I received letters from England with an account of the trial, sentence, and death of Sir Henry Vane: of which I shall only say, that he behaved himself on all those occasions in such a manner, that he left it doubtful, whether his eloquence, soundness of judgment, and presence of mind, his gravity and magnanimity, his constant adherence to the cause of his country, and heroic carriage during the time of his confinement, and at the hour of death; or the malice of his enemies, and their frivolous suggestions at his trial, the breach of the public faith in the usage he found, the incivility of the bench, and the savage rudeness of the Sheriff, who commanded the trumpets several times to sound, that he might not be heard by the people, were more remarkable.

The following account of this (and another transaction, which I care not to insist upon) being sent to me at Geneva, I may not omit to insert in this place; because it seems to give the true reasons of the court of England for hurrying Sir Henry Vane out of the world.

“ On Friday last, being the 16th of this instant June 1662, Sir Henry Vane pleaded for his life, and Maj.-Gen. Lambert for his; or rather, the first pleaded for the life and liberties of his country, and the other for his own. The issue in all appearance will be, that Sir Henry will be put to death, and Lambert pardoned, though both are under sentence of  
H 3      “condemnation.

“ condemnation. The reason of this distinction  
 “ is no other than the manner of their defence;  
 “ the one alledging the authority of the great  
 “ parliament for his justification, and that he  
 “ was indemnified by the act of amnesty; the  
 “ other meanly extenuating and excusing what  
 “ he did against Sir George Booth and Monk,  
 “ (which was the principal part of the accusa-  
 “ tion against him), by pleading ignorance of  
 “ their intentions, neither of them having de-  
 “ clared that they designed to restore the King;  
 “ and Monk, on the contrary, having openly  
 “ declared for the restitution of the parliament.  
 “ Sir Henry Vane was long in his defence, but  
 “ not tedious. He much perplexed both court  
 “ and counsel; and has acquired eternal repu-  
 “ tation, by nobly pleading for the dying liber-  
 “ ties of his country; it being clear, that all  
 “ the party which seemed to be indemnified by  
 “ the act of amnesty, shall be punished in his  
 “ person; and that for this cause only, That,  
 “ in his pleading, he undertook, by the autho-  
 “ rity of the said parliament, to justify what he  
 “ had done; maintaining, that the house of  
 “ Commons, representing the whole body of  
 “ the people, in case of difference between the  
 “ authority royal and politic, possesses a just  
 “ power to defend the rights of the people, and  
 “ to authorise the people of England, and eve-  
 “ ry one of them, to defend them.”

Sir Henry Vane was a Gentleman of an an-  
 cient family in the county of Durham; eldest  
 son to Sir Henry Vane, who had been Secretary  
 of State, and Comptroller of the Household, to  
 the late King. Being scandalized with the inno-  
 vations brought into the public worship, he went



to New-England, and remained there for the space of five or six years; the two last of which he was consecutively chosen Governor of that country, though not exceeding the age of twenty four years. In the beginning of the great parliament, he was elected to serve his country among them, without the least application made on his part to that end. And in this station he soon made appear how capable he was of managing great affairs; possessing, in the highest perfection, a quick and ready apprehension, a strong and tenacious memory, a profound and penetrating judgment, a just and noble eloquence, with an easy and graceful manner of speaking. To these were added, a singular zeal and affection for the good of the commonwealth, and a resolution and courage not to be shaken, or diverted from the public service. He had been removed by the late King from being Treasurer of the Navy, for performing his duty in the house of Commons; and being restored to that employment by the parliament, he freely contributed one half of the profits, amounting to the sum of 2000 l. yearly, towards carrying on the war for the liberties of England. When that war was ended, he put the receipt for the navy in such a way, that, by order of the parliament, the whole expence of that office exceeded not 1000 l. by year; men being brought by this means to understand, that they were not placed in employments to serve themselves, but to serve the public. And that this conduct was not mistaken, the successes of our arms by sea against Portugal, France, Holland, and other enemies, did abundantly manifest. When Cromwel had treacherously advanced himself upon the ruins of  
the

the commonwealth, he would not be induced by any means to favour or countenance his usurpation; chusing rather to suffer imprisonment and other hardships, than to comply with tyranny under any form. Upon the return of K. Charles, being conscious to himself of having done nothing in relation to public affairs, for which he could not willingly and chearfully suffer, he continued at his house in Hampstead near London; where, under false and unworthy pretences, that he had engaged in counsels with some of the army to drive him out of England again, he was seized, and imprisoned in the Tower: from whence he was carried from one place to another for the space of about two years; after the expiration of which, they who feared his abilities, and knew his integrity, thought convenient to violate the public faith, and, under a form of law, to put him to death.

The King of France, who had been fully informed of the importance of the town of Dunkirk, which had been acquired by the arms of the commonwealth; and that his brother of England, notwithstanding the vast sums he had received from the people, still wanted more to supply the excesses of his way of living, tempted him with the offer of between 3 and 400,000 l. for that place; which after some difficulties was accepted, the bargain struck, and the town surrendered to the French: An action so infamous that it wants a name, rendering him equally contemptible both to Protestants and Papists; and so astonishing in the eyes of all Europe, that no man on this side the sea would believe it possible, till they found it confirmed from all parts,  
that

that the French were actually entered into possession.

About the same time a treaty was concluded between England and Holland; the foundation of which having been laid in the blood of our three friends before mentioned, the superstructure was raised with the like materials. And the Dutch agreed to an article, importing, That if any who had been the judges of the late King, or otherwise excepted from the benefit of the act of indemnity, should be found within their territories, they should upon demand be forthwith delivered into the hands of such as should be appointed by the King of England to receive them; and that if any other persons of the English nation should at any time be demanded by the King, the States obliged themselves to surrender them also, in case they should be found in that country fourteen days after such demand made.

In the mean time the English court, knowing themselves to be fallen under the hatred and contempt of the people for their cruelty, immorality, and corruption, aggravated by the late sale of Dunkirk, resolved, by the contrivance of a plot, to disarm their enemies, and provide for their present safety. To this end, by the means of Maj.-Gen. Brown and others, money was advanced, and arms put into the hands of some persons; among whom one Bradley, who had formerly belonged to Cromwel, was the principal; that, by giving small sums to indigent officers of the late army, and by shewing the arms they had ready, they might engage them and others in this pretended design. An account of this plot was printed and published, affirming,  
that

that divers thousands of ill-affected persons were ready, under my command, to seize the Tower and the city of London; then to march directly to Whitehall, in order to kill the King and Monk, with a resolution to give no quarter to any that adhered to them; and after that to declare for a commonwealth. By this means one Baker, who had been of the guard to Cromwel, and since the disbanding of the army had been reduced to grind knives for a poor living, having received half a crown from Bradley, and promised his assistance when there should be occasion, was executed with some others for this conspiracy. However, this served the court for a pretence to seize 5 or 600 persons; to disarm all those they suspected; to require those they had taken to give bonds of 200 l. each, not to take up arms against the King; and to increase their standing guards. They were not ashamed also to give out, that their messengers had been so near to seize my person, that they had taken my cloak and slippers, and committed two Gentlemen to the Tower for accompanying me, as they said, to the sea-side, in order to my escape; though at the same time they knew so well where I was, that they had employed instruments to procure me to be assassinated in Switzerland; which was discovered to a merchant of Laufanna, by a person of quality living in these parts, who had refused 10,000 crowns offered to him on the part of the Duchess of Anjou, sister to his gracious Majesty, if he would undertake that province.

The Earl of Antrim, an Irish Papist, and one who had been concerned among the first in the rebellion of that country, having been seized at  
London,

London, as I mentioned before, and afterwards sent prisoner to Ireland, was ordered, by a letter under the King's hand and seal, to be cleared, and set at liberty ; charging the guilt of that rebellion upon his father ; and affirming in the said letter, “ That the Earl of Antrim had not  
“ done any thing without warrant and autho-  
“ rity from the King his father :” though it was well known, that he had his head and hands deeply and early engaged in that bloody work. Thus the mask was openly taken off, in confidence, that a people deprived of their leaders, dispirited by the late executions, and awed by the authority of a complying house of Commons, would not be able to shew their resentment.

In the months of September and October 1666, we had a considerable addition to our company, by the arrival of Mr. William Say, Col. Bisco, Mr. Serjeant Dendy, Mr. Nicholas Love, Mr. Andrew Broughton, Mr. Slingsby Bethel, and Mr. Cornelius Holland, at Laufanna. The three Gentlemen first named, having passed by Bern in their journey to us, had made a visit to Mr. Humelius, the Principal Minister of that place ; who, having a competent knowledge of the English tongue, had been highly kind and serviceable in procuring the order of the Lords of Bern for our protection. By him they were entertained with all manner of civilities, and informed that we were at Laufanna : which gave us an opportunity of returning our acknowledgment for his favour to our friends and countrymen ; with our desires, that he would be pleased to present our humble thanks to their Excellencies for their honourable protection ; being obliged to use this way rather than any other ;



ther; not only because of the respect he had acquired in that place by his singular merit, but because we were not sufficiently acquainted with the language of the country, to make our addresses to the government. Upon the return of his answer to our message, we perceived that he had performed our desires with great affection; and that it was the opinion of our best friends there, and in particular of Mr. Treasurer Steiger, that for many reasons it would be more convenient for us to remove to Vevay, than to remain longer at Laufanna. Having received this advice, six of us, after we had taken leave of the magistrates, who expressed their sorrow for our departure, quitted our residence, and went to Vevay. But Mr. Phelps and Col. Bisco, having bought goods at Geneva, and other places, resolved to try, if, by trading in Germany and Holland, they could improve the stock of money they had. Mr. Serjeant Dendy and Mr. Andrew Broughton chose rather to continue at Laufanna than to remove with us, yet promising to make us frequent visits where-ever we should resolve to fix our habitation.

At Vevay we were received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and affection, both from the magistrates and people. The public wine was presented to us in great abundance; and the next morning the Banderet or principal magistrate, accompanied by most of the members of the council, came to the place where we lay, to give us a visit; expressing themselves ready to serve us to the utmost of their power; giving us thanks for the honour they said we did the town, in coming to reside among them; and assuring us, that though they were sufficiently

ly

ly informed concerning our persons, and employments, both civil and military; yet the principal motive that inclined them to offer their services in so hearty a manner, was, the consideration of our sufferings for the liberties of our country. We returned our thanks as well as we could. And the next day having retired to a private house, belonging to one Mons. Du-bois, who was one of the council of the town, we were again visited by the magistrates, and presented with wine; with assurances, that their Excellencies of Bern had caused them to understand, that they would take the civilities they should do to us, as done to themselves. They acquainted us also, that seats were ordered for us in both their churches; that the *Commander*, as they name him, was directed to accompany us the first time to the one, and the *Chatelain* to the other. These favours so considerable, so cordial, and so seasonable, I hope a man in my condition may mention without incurring the charge of ostentation.

The endless prodigality of the English court, the persecution of the Dissenters, the sale of Dunkirk, the articles exhibited in parliament by the Earl of Bristol against the Chancellor Hyde, and the factions ensuing on that account, together with many other causes of discontent and division, had so alienated the affections of the people from their King, that the best judges were of opinion, that if a favourable conjuncture should happen, they would be as ready to shake off the yoke, as they had been foolish and inconsiderate in putting it on: and our friends in all parts began to entertain hopes, that they

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might be again employed to rescue their country from servitude. In this posture of affairs, Col. Algernon Sidney, who, when Monk acted his treacherous part in England, was one of the three plenipotentiaries that had been sent by the parliament to mediate a peace between the two northern crowns; which they effected in conjunction with the like number impowered by the States of Holland to that end; and since that time had resided at Rome, and other parts of Italy, thought convenient to draw nearer home, that, if an opportunity should offer, he might not be wanting to his duty and the public service. In his way, he was pleased to honour us with a visit in our retirement in Switzerland; assuring us of his affection and friendship, and no way declining to own us, and the cause for which we suffered. He favoured us with his company for about three weeks; and, at his departure, presented me with a pair of pistols, the barrels of which were made at Brescia in Lombardy, by old Lazzarino Cominazzo. Designing to go for Flanders, where he resolved to pass the ensuing winter, he took his journey by the way of Bern, doing all the good offices he could for us with the Advoyer, and other principal magistrates; assuring them of the great sense we had of their Excellencies favours, and of our desires to have our acknowledgment presented to them in the best manner; not forgetting to let them know, that they would oblige a considerable part of the good people of England by their kindness and civilities to us. He had a long conference with the Advoyer about the affairs of England. And, in a letter written

to me from Bern, he acquainted me, that he thought he had left him and others in a temper rather to add than diminish their favours to us. But, upon the whole matter, our Noble friend advised, that some of us, who might be best able to travel, should go to Bern, and pay our compliment to the government in our own persons; intimating, that so generous and public a favour deserved a public acknowledgment. Having imparted this advice to our friends, Mr. Nicholas Love, and Mr. Andrew Broughton, (who, though usually residing at Lausanna, was then with us), offered their company; but Mr. Lisle made many objections against this undertaking at that time: so that we three were obliged to go to Bern in the name of the rest of the company. Being arrived there, we went first to wait on our good friend Mr. Humelius, who received us with great affection, and expressed his joy for the resolution we had taken to present our thanks personally to their Excellencies. We desired of him, that some means might be found to make our addresses with as little ceremony and noise as possible: which he approved; and promised to see Mr. Treasurer Steiger the same evening, and to consult with him, in order to serve us according to our desires; assuring us, that the next morning we should hear from them. In conformity to his promise, Mr. Humelius came to us in person, with assurances from the Treasurer of his affection and services; acquainting us, that we should have the liberty of making our acknowledgment to the council of Bern in our own manner, either by speech or writing, as should be most agreeable to us. Up-

on which, considering our inability to express ourselves in the French or German language as was requisite on such an occasion, we resolved to do it in writing. Having agreed upon this way, we accompanied Mr. Humelius to see his children, as he called them; who were orphans of both sexes, born of poor parents, and bred up by the magistracy in a place set apart for that purpose, all manner of necessaries being provided for them, till they should be capable of being employed in such trades as were proper for persons in their condition. From thence we retired to prepare our address; which we agreed to present in the French tongue, as follows.

Illustres, Hauts & Puissants Souverains, &  
Très-honorés Seigneurs,

**A**yant été contraints par l'étrange révolution des affaires d'Angleterre, (le lieu de notre naissance), pour éviter l'orage qui nous menaçoit & tous les gens de bien, de quitter notre patrie, après que nous y avions fait notre possible pour l'avancement de la gloire de Dieu & le bien de la république, nous avons trouvé une assistance particuliere du Tout-Puissant, en ce qu'il a disposé vos Excellences à nous secourir & protéger au temps de notre adversité. C'est cette faveur que deux de nos compatriotes, & un de nous, ont déjà expérimenté par la protection particuliere qu'il a plu à vos Excellences de leur accorder; les autres se reposant sur la générale, que



*que toutes personnes pieuses & paisibles obtiennent sous le gouvernement juste & favorable de vos Excellences.*

*Comme nous sommes obligés d'adresser nos vœux au Seigneur pour le remercier d'une grace si particuliere ; aussi, afin de temoigner à vos Excellences jusqu'où va notre ressentiment, nous avons plusieurs fois prié quelques Seigneurs de votre illustre sénat, de vous l'assurer de notre part. Mais ayant depuis éprouvé les effets de votre bonté d'une maniere extraordinaire, nous avons cru être obligés de rendre personnellement ce devoir à vos Excellences. C'est ce que font à present deux d'entre nous, de notre propre part, & de celle de ceux qui ont été conservés par votre protection générale, & un de notre nombre, de sa propre part, & de celle de Monsieur Guillaume Cawley, à qui vos Excellences ont fait la grace de donner une protection particuliere ; qui est très-affligé que les infirmités corporelles qui l'accompagnent, le privent du bien & du contentement qu'il auroit reçu, s'il eût pu avoir l'avantage de vous témoigner sa reconnoissance en personne.*

*Comme nous avons pris cette occasion pour vous donner des assurances du ressentiment que nous avons de tant de bonté qu'il a plu à vos Excellences de nous témoigner, nous prenons aussi ce temps pour vous assurer de notre obéissance, & de la grande passion que nous avons de vous en pouvoir donner quelques marques considérables, si Dieu nous en donne l'occasion, dont nous ne desespérons point. Cependant nous priérons l'Eternel qu'il veuille fortifier vos Excellences de plus en plus à le servir, jusques à ce qu'ayant parachevé le cours de cette vie, vous veniez à rece-*

*voir la couronne qui est préparée pour ceux qui  
le craignent,*

Illustres, Hauts & Puissants Souverains,

& Très-honorés Seigneurs,

Vos serviteurs très-humbles

& très-obéissants,

EDMOND LUDLOW, &c.

The same in English.

*“ To the Illustrious, High and Mighty Sove-  
“ reigns, and Most Honoured Lords, their  
“ Excellencies of Bern.*

*“ HAVING been constrained by the late extra-  
“ ordinary revolution of affairs in Eng-  
“ land, the place of our birth, for avoiding the  
“ storm that threatened us and the good people  
“ there, to quit that land, after we had used our  
“ utmost endeavours for the advancement of  
“ God’s glory and the good of our country, we  
“ find cause to admire the goodness of the Al-  
“ mighty, for inclining your Excellencies to suc-  
“ cour and protect us in this time of our di-  
“ stresse. This favour two of our countrymen,  
“ and one of our number, have already received,  
“ by virtue of those particular protections which  
“ it*

“ it has pleased your Excellencies to grant; the  
“ rest of our company relying on the general  
“ one, that all pious and peaceable persons en-  
“ joy under your Excellencies righteous and just  
“ government.

“ As we esteem ourselves obliged to bless God  
“ for this signal and especial favour; so also, to  
“ testify to your Excellencies our grateful ac-  
“ knowledgment, we have divers times desired  
“ some of the Honourable Lords of this illustrious  
“ senate to present you with our most humble  
“ thanks: but every day more and more experi-  
“ encing the effects of your goodness and favour,  
“ we have thought ourselves obliged personally  
“ to pay this duty to your Excellencies. This  
“ two of us do at this time for our ourselves,  
“ and in the behalf of others who have been  
“ preserved by virtue of your general protection;  
“ and one of us for himself, and on the part of  
“ Mr. William Cawley, one of those to whom  
“ your Excellencies have been pleased to grant  
“ a particular protection; who finds himself  
“ sensibly afflicted, that the infirmities of his  
“ body do now deprive him of the happiness  
“ and satisfaction he should have received, if he  
“ could have tendered his duty in person.

“ Having taken this occasion to testify the  
“ deep sense we have of your Excellencies fa-  
“ vours, we desire leave to assure you of our  
“ obedience, and the ambition we have to give  
“ some signal testimony of our gratitude to your  
“ Excellencies, if God shall favour us with an  
“ opportunity, of which we do not despair.  
“ In the mean time, that God will fortify your  
“ Excellencies in his service, till having finish-  
“ ed your course in this world, you shall  
“ receive

“ receive the crown prepared for those that fear  
 “ him, shall be the prayer of,

“ *Illustrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns,*

“ *and Most Honoured Lords,*

“ *Your most humble and*

“ *most obedient servants,*

“ EDMUND LUDLOW, &c.”

We had scarce finished this paper, when Mr. Treasurer Steiger, accompanied by Mr. Humelius, came to our lodging; and having acquainted us that he should not have failed to be with us in the morning, if the public affairs had not required his presence at the council, he made us the offer of his services in a most affectionate manner; and declared his resolution to assist us to the utmost of his power; expressing his detestation of the late action of the States of Holland, in delivering up our friends into the hands of their mortal enemies, and purchasing the security of their trade with so much shame to themselves. When we had answered his civilities in the best manner we could, and given him our thanks for the offers of his favour, we shewed him the paper above mentioned; which having perused and approved, he desired Mr. Humelius to accompany us to the Advoyer, (or President of the council, by whose hands all addresses pass to their Excellencies), and took his leave for that time.

The Advoyer being informed that we were waiting to present ourselves to him, gave orders for our admittance, and received us with great kindness;

kindness; expressing his sense of the justice of that cause which we had defended, and for which we then suffered, together with the esteem, which he assured us their Excellencies in general, and himself in particular, had of our persons. We desired him to believe, that we had the deepest sense of his and their Excellencies favour; attributing the civilities and respect we had received as well from the magistrates as from the people in all places within the territories of their Excellencies, to the bounty and favour of the government towards us. To which he replied, That he was very glad their officers, and others of their subjects, had so well performed their duty. Then proceeding to acquaint him with the occasion of our coming to Bern, I delivered the address into his hands, with our humble desires that it might be presented to their Excellencies; which when he had read, and intimated that my name was not unknown to him, he assured us with much affection, that he would not fail to present it to their Excellencies, and to return a speedy answer. I would have saved him that trouble; and therefore told him that we expected no answer, and desired no more than their Excellencies acceptance of our humble acknowledgments. But he said we should have an answer; accompanying us, when we took leave, to the outward gate, not permitting us to prevail with him to the contrary.

Having dispatched this business, we went to take a view of the public buildings, particularly that where the senate and council of two hundred are used to assemble. The chambers are opposite to each other, and divided by a narrow passage; on both sides of which are rooms for the reception



reception of such as have any affairs in either of those places. From thence we were conducted to the arsenal; where we saw a train of artillery consisting of about 100 pieces of all kind of ordnance, with ammunition and all things necessary. There were arms, as I conjectured, sufficient for about 20,000 foot, and a proportionable number of horse. But I confess nothing that I saw gave me greater satisfaction, than to find a statue erected in one of the chambers of the arsenal, to the memory of William Tel; who may in great measure be called the founder of this commonwealth. For when a certain Knight called Grifler, who was Governor of Ury and Sultz, after many repeated acts of tyranny, had wantonly caused a cap to be set on the top of a pole in the market-place of Altorf, commanding all those who should pass that way to uncover their heads, and to pay the same honours to the cap, as if he himself had been there present in person; William Tel refused to obey; and, for his disobedience, was sentenced by Grifler to be put to death, unless he could with one arrow hit an apple that should be placed on the head of his son. To this hard condition he was compelled to submit; and, on the day appointed, in the presence of the Governor, struck the apple with his arrow from the child's head. But Grifler having observed, that he had brought with him two arrows, though he might use no more than one; and desiring to be informed why he had so done, William Tel, upon the Governor's promise that he should not be put to death, acknowledged, that if he had killed his son with the one, he would have revenged his blood on the tyrant with the other. The Governor,

Governor, conscious of his own crimes, and therefore fearing the resolution of such a man, though he would not put him to death, resolved to imprison him during life; and, to that end, caused him to be tied, and thrown into a boat, with intention to see him securely laid in the dungeon of the strong castle of Cusnach. After they had been some time upon the lake of Ury, a violent storm arising, the Governor finding his life in great danger, and knowing Tel to be an expert waterman, caused him to be unbound, that he might help to save the lives of himself and company. This he undertook to do; and steering towards Suitz, brought the boat so near the shore, that, taking up his cross-bow which lay by him, he leaped out upon a rock, (called to this day *the stone of Tel*), pushed off the boat with his foot, and made his escape into the mountains. In the mean time, the Governor lay floating in his boat upon the water; and, not without great danger and difficulty, at last arrived in the port of Brunn; from whence he continued his way to Cusnach. Of which William Tel being informed, and well acquainted with every part of the woods and hills, he posted himself in a private place by which the tyrant was to pass, and with his cross-bow shot him dead upon the spot. The success of this action so animated the rest of his associates, who had formed a design to restore the liberty of their country, that, on a day appointed, they seized their Governors, demolished the castles where they lived, banished them and their families, and bravely freed themselves from that tyranny which they could not bear. Besides the statue of William Tel taken in full proportion,

proportion, standing with a cross-bow in his hand, and aiming at an apple on a child's head, there is also a statue of the first Advoyer, with two more of persons who were principally eminent in establishing the commonwealth, armed *de cap en pied*, and one of them on horseback, to encourage others to defend that liberty which their ancestors had purchased for them.

This night as we were at supper, we received a compliment from the Advoyer, accompanied with a present of wine: and the next morning an order was brought to Mr. Humelius, who was then with us, from their Excellencies of Bern, written in the German tongue; which, being translated by him into English, contained as follows.

“ *September 3. 1663.*

“ **C**ONCERNING the three English Gentlemen  
 “ who have for some time resided at Ve-  
 “ vay, and have this day presented in our as-  
 “ sembly of council their thanks for our pro-  
 “ tection formerly granted to them; it is re-  
 “ solved, that they shall be saluted on our part  
 “ with a present of wine; and that Mr. Trea-  
 “ surer Steiger, with Mr. Kilberger, and you  
 “ our Doyne, do acquaint them with our af-  
 “ fection and good-will to them, and assure  
 “ them of the continuation of the same for the  
 “ time to come.”

Mr. Humelius, after he had read this order, informed us, that the Gentlemen therein mentioned, with some other magistrates, designed to dine with us that day, and had desired him to accompany them. Accordingly, between  
 eleven

eleven and twelve, Mr. Treasurer Steiger, Col. Weiss, and one more of the twenty four Senators, in the room of Mr. Kilberger, who was diverted by some public business, attended by the Grand Sautier with his mace, and three other Gentlemen, came to us at our lodging; where, after about an hour's discourse, Mr. Treasurer, being informed that the dinner was set upon the table, invited us to go down into the hall; and with great civility placed our company: which being done, he ordered the Grand Sautier to lay aside his mace. After we had sat about a quarter of an hour, two officers, clothed in their Excellencies livery, brought in the present of wine that had been ordered. Upon which one of the three Gentlemen who came with Mr. Treasurer, arising from the table, harangued us in the name of their Excellencies; concluding with an assurance of the continuation of their favour. To this we thought ourselves obliged to answer, That as we owed our lives and liberties to the protection of their Excellencies, we resolved to sacrifice all in their service, when we should be so happy to find an occasion.

Dinner being over, a question was started by Col. Weiss, How it came to pass, that we, who for many years had the whole power of the three nations in our hands, were removed from the government without shedding one drop of blood? To which I answered, That, for the right understanding of the affairs that had lately passed in England, it would be necessary to take up the matter from the beginning. But they pressing me to favour them with some account of those transactions, I told them with all the brevity I could, "That most of those persons who had

“ first engaged in the war, having made their  
 “ own peace, had endeavoured to deliver us and  
 “ the cause itself into the hands of our enemies;  
 “ and though they had many opportunities to  
 “ have ended the dispute, by destroying the  
 “ King’s army, they neglected all, and only  
 “ endeavoured to reduce the crown to their own  
 “ terms. This was visible in the conduct of  
 “ the Earl of Essex on several occasions; and in  
 “ that of the Earl of Manchester after the battle  
 “ of Newberry; who, though he had 20,000  
 “ men in his army, flushed with that victory,  
 “ yet suffered the King with 7000 only to carry  
 “ off the cannon he had left at a place which  
 “ stood near the ground where he had been  
 “ routed a few weeks before, without once of-  
 “ fering to attack him; giving this, at a council  
 “ of war, for the reason of his refusing to fight,  
 “ *That if the King were beaten twenty times by*  
 “ *us, he would be still King; but if he should*  
 “ *once beat us, we should be all treated as trai-*  
 “ *tors:* for which being accused in the house  
 “ of Commons, though they thought not con-  
 “ venient to proceed against him criminally;  
 “ yet upon this, and divers other considerations,  
 “ they removed him, together with the Earl of  
 “ Essex, and the rest of the Nobility, from their  
 “ commands in the army; making choice of  
 “ Commoners to fill their places, whose interest  
 “ they knew it was to take away the monarchy  
 “ itself. By this means, they soon put an end  
 “ to the war, sentenced the King to die for the  
 “ blood that had been shed, established a free  
 “ commonwealth, brought their enemies at  
 “ home to submit to their authority, and redu-  
 “ ced those abroad to accept such terms as they  
 “ would



“ would give. In the midst of all this prosperity they were betrayed by Oliver Cromwel, whom they had intrusted with the command of their army; who, having moulded the greatest part of the officers to his purpose, by calumniating the parliament, proposing advancement to the ambitious, and deluding the simple with a shew of religion; backed by the assistance of the clergy and lawyers, (who had been threatened by the parliament with a reformation of their practices); ejected his masters, and usurped their authority; endeavouring, during the five years of his reign, to ruin all that had been faithful to the interest of the commonwealth, and advancing those who would not scruple to sacrifice their consciences to his ambition. By these ways the army became so corrupted, that though, after the usurper's death, they had been persuaded with great difficulty to depose the son, and to permit the restitution of the parliament; yet they were soon after induced, under frivolous pretences, to offer violence to them a second time: which rendering them odious to the people, gave an opportunity to Monk, by declaring for the parliament, to divide their counsels, and to render them useless. And when the parliament had in gratitude for their restitution conferred many undeserved favours upon Monk, he also, who had been a creature of Cromwel, and advanced by him, betrayed his trust; and, contrary to many protestations, oaths, and solemn asseverations, brought a great number of persons to vote in parliament, who had formerly been ejected by the house;

“ which turned the balance from the side of the  
 “ commonwealth ; and, under the influence of  
 “ his forces, brought in the son of the late  
 “ King.”

Though the brevity of this account would not admit of that clearness and perspicuity which I could have wished, yet our generous friends were not only willing to pardon the imperfections, but gave me thanks for the information they said I had given them of our affairs ; expressing themselves deeply sensible of the troubles that had fallen upon us, and the honest interest, by so base a treachery.

After this conversation, the Senators rising from their seats, we gave them thanks for the honours they had been pleased to do us ; and, according to our duty, offered to accompany them to their respective habitations. But these truly noble persons would by no means permit us : and being desirous that their favours to us should be yet more public, they invited us to go to the church, that all men might see they were not ashamed to own what they had done. To this end, Mr. Treasurer Steiger having ordered the mace to be carried before him, constrained me to take the right hand, Monsr. Humelius and Col. Weifs doing the like to Mr. Love and Mr. Broughton ; obliging us to enter the church before them, and placing us in the most honourable seats : neither could we prevail with them to go out before us from the place of public worship, or to permit us to accompany them to their houses. The next day we went to wait on the Advoyer, who was then preparing for his embassy to France, where he and another person were appointed to represent the canton of Bern ;  
 and

and having acquainted him with the deep impression their Excellencies and his favours had made upon us, he expressed himself highly sensible of our condition, and heartily desirous of our restitution; with assurances of his farther services on all occasions, and promising the like favour and protection to as many of our countrymen as should come to them. At our taking leave, he accompanied us to the outward gate, as in the first visit; and when we told him he had exceeded in the honours done to us, he condescended to say, That in his own account he had never received so much honour in his life. After this, we paid our respects and thanks to Mr. Treasurer Steiger, to the ancient Bailiff Mons. Lentulus, to Col. Weifs, and to our true friend Mons. Humelius, with divers others of the senate and council. And being desirous to wait also on Gen. D'Erlach, who, we were informed, had much favoured us in the business of our protection; we went to his house, but he was gone out of town, and we had not the advantage to see him at that time.

Having been thus successful in our affairs at Bern, we returned to our residence at Vevay; where we had not been long, before we were informed, that an Irishman, going under the name of Riardo, and belonging, as he said, to the Duchess of Orleans, was arrived at Turin, and had formed a design against our lives; and that Mr. Denzil Hollis, since the late revolution called Lord Hollis, and at that time Ambassador in France, had been with one Mons. Lullin, who was agent at Paris for the republic of Geneva, to desire satisfaction for a book which he supposed to be printed in that place in favour of

those who had been condemned for putting the late King to death. But that which alarmed us most, was a report, that letters had been sent from the King of England to their Excellencies of Bern, to demand our persons. Of this information having given an account to Mr. Humelius, and desired him to use his diligence in finding out the truth of these things; we soon received in answer, That he had heard nothing of the two first: and as to the last, he assured us, that no letters of that sort from England were yet come to the hands of their Excellencies; but if such a thing should happen, he would not fail to give us timely notice and advice for our government on such an occasion. By a second, which we received from him soon after, he informed us, That Gen. D'Erlach had acquainted him with the arrival of a courier from France, who had brought letters for their Ambassador, together with particular orders to inform himself, whether their Excellencies of Bern might by any means be induced to deliver us up, or at least to withdraw their protection from us. But not finding the Ambassador in the country, (he having taken a journey to the court of France, to be present at the reception of the Swiss Ambassadors, who had been sent thither to ratify the treaty lately concluded with that King), he was returned to Paris, and had carried his letters back with him. And I am inclined to believe, that our enemies, upon information of the honourable reception we had found from their Excellencies, were entirely discouraged from attempting any thing in that way; and therefore turned their malice against us into designs of violence and assassination.

Divers letters from Turin, Geneva, Lyons, and other places, which we and our friends at Vevay received, were full of advices from those parts, that so many, and such desperate persons had engaged against us, that it would be next to impossible to escape their hands. And one of my best friends, who was then at Geneva, sent a messenger express to me, with a letter to inform me, That he had received a billet from a person who knew our friendship, and desired not to be known, with these expressions at the end, "If you wish the preservation of the English General at Vevay, let him know, that he must remove from thence with speed, if he have any regard to his own safety." We also received certain information, that Riardo had been seen in the Pais de Vaux, and in several parts of Savoy. Being somewhat alarmed with these things, our company met, in order to consult what was fit to be done on this occasion; and soon came to a resolution, that we would not remove into any country that was governed by a monarch, lest we should be guilty of our own blood, by seeking protection from those who were concerned in interest to destroy us. It remained only to consider, whether we should quit the place of our present residence for any other under the same government; or whether we should remove from the territories of Bern to some other republic. The first we were unwilling to do for many respects, and particularly on account of the good-will and affection that the people had expressed to us: and to the second we could by no means consent, because the protection of their Excellencies had been so frankly, publicly, and generously extended to us.

So



So that, having determined to remain at Vevay, and being informed that a fair would be kept there in a few days, we contented ourselves with changing our lodging for one night, and procuring the guard of the town to be doubled during the day of the fair, lest our enemies should disguise themselves, and, mixing with the concourse of people, pass unsuspected, till they might find an opportunity of surprising us.

According to our information, some of the villains who were employed to destroy us, had, on the 14th of November 1663, passed the lake from Savoy, in order to put their bloody design in execution the next day, as we should be going to the church. They arrived at Vevay about an hour after sun-set; and having divided themselves, one part took up their quarters in one inn, and the other in another. The next day being Sunday, Monsieur Dubois, our landlord, going early to the church, discovered a boat at the side of the lake, with four watermen in her, their oars in order, and ready to put off. Not far from the boat stood two persons with cloaks thrown over their shoulders, two sitting under a tree, and two more in the same posture a little way from them. Monsieur Dubois concluding they had arms under their cloaks, and that these persons had waylaid us, with a design to murder us as we should be going to the sermon, pretending to have forgotten something, returned home, and advised us of what he had observed. In his way to us he had met one Mr. Binet; who acquainted him, that two men, whom he suspected of some bad intention, had posted themselves near his house, and that four more had been seen in the market-place; but that, find-  
ing

ing themselves observed, they had all retired towards the lake. By this means, the way leading to the church through the town being cleared, we went to the sermon without any molestation, and said nothing to any man of what we had heard, because we had not yet certainly found that they had a design against us. Returning from church I was informed, that the suspected persons were all dining at one of the inns; which excited my curiosity to take a view of the boat. Accordingly I went with a small company, and found the four watermen by the boat, the oars laid in their places, a great quantity of straw in the bottom of the boat, and all things ready to put off. About an hour after dinner I met our landlord; and having inquired of him concerning the persons before mentioned, he assured me they could be no other than a company of rogues; that they had arms under the straw of the boat; and that they had cut the withes that held the oars of the town-boats, to prevent any pursuit if they should be forced to fly. But these ruffians, who had observed the actions of Monsieur Dubois, and suspected he would cause them to be seized, came down soon after I had viewed the boat, and in great haste caused the watermen to put off, and returned to Savoy. This discovery being made, the Chate-lain, the Banderet, together with all the magistrates and people of the town, were much troubled that we had not given them timely notice, that so they might have been seized. We afterwards understood, that one Du Pose of Lyons, Monsieur Du Pre a Savoyard, (of whom I shall have occasion to speak more largely), one Gerise of Lyons, with Riardo before mentioned,

were

were part of this crew; and that Riardo paid the whole expence they made at Vevay.

The Bailiff, the Chatelain, and the whole council, shewing themselves highly sensible of this affront offered to the government of their Excellencies, and of the injury done to us, the Banderet gave order, that the boats of the town should be ready to attack them in case they should return to make any attempt against us. They not only offered us a guard for the safety of our house, but condescended to tell us, that they were ready to do that office themselves. The Bailiff directed the Chatelain to require all the inn-keepers every night to give an account upon oath, either to him, or to Monsieur Dubois our landlord, of all persons that should come to lodge at their houses; and the council of the town ordered, that no burgeses should entertain any man for whom they would not answer. Their Excellencies of Bern also being informed of this attempt, sent their orders to the Bailiffs of Lausanna, Morges, and Vevay, to take special care of our persons, and to search all boats coming from Savoy, of which they should have any suspicion.

Monf. Du Pre finding himself disappointed in this enterprize, and fearing that, for this affront to their Excellencies of Bern, he might be deprived of the profits of some lands lying within their territories, of which he had lately taken possession after a long suit at law in the right of his wife, and which had been sequestred from him, because he had violently carried her out of their country before marriage, procured one of my good friends at Geneva to write to me on his behalf, and to inform me, that he had no  
otherwise

otherwise engaged in this affair than to do me service. Our landlord also being unwilling to provoke him any further, knowing the desperate resolution of the man, desired, that if I should write to any of my friends at Bern concerning this attempt, I would only name Riardo, who was confessed to be the principal undertaker. But though I thought it not proper for us to be the accusers and prosecutors of those who were concerned in this design; yet, not being able to see any reason to do as was desired in his behalf, I resolved to leave the whole matter to the wisdom of their Excellencies; who, after they had received the report of those in our parts to whom they had committed the examination of this affair, being assured that Monsieur Du Pre was one of that number, seized again into their hands the estate he had enjoyed in the right of his wife.

Our enemies still giving out in all places where they durst, that they would not desist till they had effected their design, I received a letter from a good friend, in which I found these words. "You are hated and feared more than all the  
"rest of your companions: your head is set at  
"a great price: it is against you they take all  
"this pains to find assassins, and it was on your  
"account they contrived the late attempt: so  
"that upon the whole matter I cannot but ad-  
"vise, that you would resolve to retire to some  
"place where you may be unknown; there being,  
"in my opinion, no other way left to secure  
"you from the rage of your enemies." But having strengthened our house, and made the best provision we could for our defence, being assured of the affections both of the magistrates  
and

and people of the town, and the government having given me power to ring the alarm-bell upon occasion, and to that end contrived it so that I could do it from my own chambers, our lodgings joining to one of the gates, I resolved not to remove; especially considering that those who had made the late attempt, being for the most part well known, had rendered themselves incapable of returning again to Vevay: whereas if we should have removed to any other place, the same persons would have found greater facility to execute their design. As to that part of the advice, tending to persuade me to go to some place where I might not be known, I knew it was in vain to think of finding any such within the territories of their Excellencies; and out of them I resolved not to depart.

In the mean time I was informed by letters from England, That Riardo having been at that court to give account of the ill success of the late attempt against us, was not only well received by the King, but dispatched with new orders to carry on the same design; and that in his passage through France he had been with the Duchess of Orleans, who was the principal instrument used by his gracious Majesty for encouraging and carrying on this manly attempt. I was also assured from France that, in a letter to that King, he had acquainted him, that not thinking himself safe so long as the principal traitors were alive, he desired his assistance to seize or destroy those that were on that side the sea, and particularly those in Switzerland.

In prosecution of the orders that had been sent from their Excellencies of Bern, the Bailiff of Morges having notice that one of the watermen  
who



who had brought the assassins from Savoy to Vevay was in that town, caused him to be seized, and sent prisoner to the castle of Chillion, which is the place of residence for the Bailiff of Vevay. On the first of January we were invited by the Bailiff to a public entertainment in the castle, and by that means were present at his examination. For some time he confessed nothing material; but being found to contradict himself in his answers, and therefore threatened with the strapado by the Bailiff, and the Baron de Chateler, he seeing the cord made ready, informed them, That one Monsieur De la Broette, and Monsieur Du Fargis, both Savoyards, were among those who came in the boat with Du Pre; and that one of the four watermen was the person who cut the withes of all the town-boats, to prevent them from pursuing: adding, that Du Pre told them at their return to Savoy, that if they had succeeded in their enterprize, they should have had money enough; but constantly denying that he knew any thing of the design till it had miscarried.

Yet neither the care of the government to provide by their justice for our future safety, nor the disappointment of the assassins in their late attempt, could remove the fears our friends had entertained of new designs against our persons, or persuade them to believe that we could be safe whilst we remained in the place where we were. Among others, Mr. Treasurer Steiger wrote a letter to the Bailiff of Vevay, in which he desired him to persuade us to remove our quarters either to Yverden, Lausanna, or some other place that was near the centre of their Excellencies territories, where they might be bet-

ter able to defend us, than he doubted they could at present, by reason of the advantages that the situation of the lake afforded to our enemies; who, he said, might come by water from Savoy, or Verfoy, a place belonging to the French, to the foot of our garden-wall, without fear of surprise or discovery; assuring him, that having been the first adviser of our settlement at Vevay, if any ill should happen to us whilst we continued in that place, he should account himself the most unhappy man in the world. The Bailiff having communicated this letter to me, I answered, That our company was extremely obliged to Mr. Treasurer Steiger for the care he expressed to be upon him for our safety; but that our disease being entirely personal, and not at all local, we should, in my opinion, be so far from mending upon the change of air, that I feared we should render our condition worse, by going to a place where we were not known, and putting ourselves under the necessity of making new friends, which, by the favour and goodness of the magistrates and people, we had already acquired at Vevay; that therefore we should willingly acquit Mr. Treasurer and all our friends from the blame of whatever might befall us, and take the consequences of our stay upon ourselves. With these and other reasons, the Bailiff, and by his means the rest of our friends, were so well satisfied, that we heard no more from them on that account.

About this time I received a letter from one Mons. De la Fleschere, a near relation of that Mons. Du Pre who was one of the twelve that came to assassinate us at Vevay; in which he declared his detestation of that villainy, and promised

mitted to inform me from time to time of what he should learn of their designs; acquainting me of their intentions to attack us in our way to the church, which was without the town; and therefore advising, that I should go seldom thither, and never without company, and well armed. He counselled us by all means to keep together, and not to separate as he was informed we intended to do; and that we should continue in the place where we were, because the lake was a great impediment to our enemies designs; who, he said, assured themselves of success in their enterprize, if we should go to Yverden, Lausanna, or any other place, from whence they might make their escape on horseback.

Divers other advertisements of designs against us coming to our hands about the same time, most of them naming me to be the person against whom the malice was principally directed, and insinuating, that the rest of our company were brought into hazard chiefly on my account; Mr. Lisle either really was, or pretended to be so alarmed, that he withdrew himself from us, and went to Lausanna, under colour, that expecting a visit from his Lady in the month of May next ensuing, he was unwilling she should come to Vevay, lest it should prove prejudicial to her after her return to England. Before he left us, he made his will; and took leave of the magistrates, and of all his friends in the town, in a solemn manner. At our parting, I took liberty to desire him to take the best care he could of himself, and not to be too confident of his security, upon supposition that I was the only person marked out for destruction; since he well knew, that at a consult held by our enemies at

Chatillon, they had inquired after him as well as myself: I adjured him therefore to be upon his guard, lest presuming too much upon safety, he might betray himself into their hands.

Soon after the departure of Mr. Lisle, I received advice by the means of Mons. de la Flefchere, that Du Pose and Cerise of Lyons, with one St. Du, had been at Tunno, a place lying upon the lake, to confer with Du Pre, De la Broette and Du Fargis, about resuming their former design, and that they had passed most part of the night in the wood of Courent; where it had been at last resolved, that they would come no more to Vevay by the way of the lake; but that the next attempt should be made by a smaller number of persons on foot, with horses kept ready to receive them, and to carry them off either by the way of Chillion, St. Dennis, or Laufanna. Of all which I gave notice to Mr. Lisle, who, with others of our friends and countrymen, was then at Laufanna.

About eight days after, one Mons. Du Moulin of Vevay, going towards Laufanna, discovered in a lane not far from the lake on the way of Safron, three persons well mounted and armed, with one on foot; and thinking them to have no good design, he sent a servant to observe them; who upon his return confirming him in his suspicion, Mons. Du Moulin dismounted, and taking up the foot of his horse, to induce them to believe he only wanted a shoe, he returned immediately to Vevay. But they suspecting themselves to be discovered, and that he was returned to give us notice, as indeed he was, made so much haste away, that before the people of the town could reach the place where they had been  
seen,

seen, they were arrived at Safron; and having a boat, which had brought them in the morning from Savoy, lying ready to receive them, they by that means made their escape. They had sent two persons on foot into the town to assassinate me by stabbing or shooting, and these horsemen were to have carried them off, as we afterwards understood: but that the town being raised by the information of Mons. Du Moulin, they also had thought convenient to shift for themselves.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of July 1664, we were informed, that some Savoyards had landed in the harbour of Ouches belonging to Lausanna, and had let fall some words of a design against the English there. Upon which some of their friends having notice, went to the Burgomaster, in order to procure his warrant to seize, and bring them to be examined before him. But the Burgomaster refusing to do any thing in the matter without the advice of the Bailiff, they went to the castle; where, finding the bridge drawn up, they thought not fit to trouble him that night. The next morning they went again to the castle; and having acquainted the Bailiff with what they had heard, he presently granted his warrant, and ordered the Fiscal to summon the Savoyards before him. But they having notice of what was doing, got into their boat, and were put off, before the warrant could be served upon them. Yet it was supposed, that if the town-boats had been ordered to pursue them, they might easily have seized, and brought them in; for they were within musket-shot of the shore when the officer came to the port with the warrant, the lake very rough, and the wind directly in their teeth.



However, I must not omit, that these villains had been seen to stand by the door of the church, where Mr. Lisle used to go, all the time the people were going into the sermon; but neither he nor any of our countrymen coming to the church that morning, they departed in a rage, one of them saying, *Le B..gre ne viendra pas*; which words, though they were not observed at the time, yet were afterwards too well understood.

Mr. Lisle having received advice from the Lieutenant Balival, that a certain Frenchman, who used to engrave upon seals and dishes at Vevay, Lausanna, and other places, had informed these Savoyards of the way they should take for the execution of their wicked design, procured an officer of justice to demand him at his lodging in Lausanna; where being informed that he was gone to Vevay, a message was dispatched to me, that I might cause him to be seized. Accordingly the Bailiff, at my request, granted a warrant for taking him into custody. But he having heard how things had passed at Lausanna, and supposing the alarm to be over, was returned thither. Of which the government of the town having advice, they caused him to be seized, and carried before the Burgomaster; who, after a slight examination, contented himself with banishing him from their jurisdiction. And now Mr. Lisle began to think, that he had not much better provided for his security by abandoning Vevay.

On the Wednesday of the same week, two men in the habit of grooms, mounted upon good horses, came to lodge at an inn in Vevay. Of which our landlord having received notice, (according to an order of the

Bailiff

Bailiff and Chatelain formerly signified to all innkeepers), he went to the house where they were; and, upon examination, was assured by them, that they belonged to a German Count, who was then at the baths in the Pais des Vallées; that they were by his order come to this place to wait his return, and that they had already sent a messenger to acquaint him with their arrival. Being not able to draw any more from them, he came home; and, having acquainted me with what had passed, earnestly desired, that I would be upon my guard. In the mean time these pretended grooms continued at Vevay till the Thursday in the following week; when one coming from the baths before mentioned, assured, that no such person as these fellows described, had been there: which added to a threatening message sent by our landlord to the innkeeper for entertaining such rogues, they hastened away, and went to Laufanna.

On Thursday the 11th of August 1664, one Monsr. Longeon of Laufanna brought me the sad news, that Mr. Lisle going that morning to hear the sermon in the church that stood near the town-gate, was shot dead by a person on foot, who had a companion waiting for him on horseback, with a led horse in his hand; which the murderer having mounted, and cried *Vive le Roy*, they immediately rode away together towards Morges. Soon after this barbarous murder was committed, we understood from Laufanna by the description of the persons, their cloaths and horses, that they were the same that had lodged at Vevay. They had continued for a week in Laufanna before they found an opportunity to put in execution their detestable plot, and had  
carried

carried themselves with such indiscretion, that divers persons suspected them to have a design against the English. Of which Mr. Lisle being informed, he sent his landlord twice to try what he could draw from them. But they had so well contrived their story, that he could find no colour to remove them. Many persons upon suspicion of these fellows had desired Mr. Lisle to be upon his guard, and to forbear going to the church he used; because it lay so near the town-gate, that if any persons should make an attempt against him, they might with little difficulty escape by that way. Our countrymen also who were with him, performed the same office. But he would by no means hearken to their advice; saying, he was in the hands of God, and had committed himself entirely to his protection; adding to this answer, that my life was his defence, and that till our enemies had dispatched me, he assured himself they would not think of him. The villain that murdered him, had waited his coming at a barber's shop, where he pretended to want something for his teeth; till seeing Mr. Lisle at a distance, he stepped out of the shop, and as he came by, saluted him. Then following him into the church-yard, he drew a carabine from under his cloak, and shot him into the back. With the recoil of the piece the villain's hat was beaten off; and he himself falling over a piece of timber, dropped his gun, which he left behind him; and as soon as he had recovered himself, running to his companion who held the led horse, he mounted, and made his escape. Thus died John Lisle, Esq; son to Sir William Lisle of the Isle of Wight, a member of the great parliament,

one of the council of state, commissioner of the great seal, and one of the assistants to the Lord President in the high court of justice that was erected for the trial of the late King. The government of Laufanna was so remiss in the pursuit of the assassins, that it was suspected they had some friends among them. And of this the villains themselves seemed to give proof: for before they had advanced half a league on their way, calling to some men who were working in the vineyards, they bid them give their service to the Governors of Laufanna, and tell them they would drink their healths. But the common people openly cried out against the Burgomaster, and accused him of having favoured the assassins. And, that I may do justice to the Bailiff of Laufanna, who had been absent for some time from the town upon public business, I must not omit, that when he heard of the assassination of Mr. Lisle, he said, that if he had been at Laufanna, those villains should not have continued so long there without interruption.

Upon this we received a great number of letters from our friends in several parts, to inform us of the rage of our enemies, and of their resolution to leave no means of destroying us unattempted; some of them having affirmed, that if they could not accomplish their design either by stabbing, poisoning, or shooting, they were resolved to attempt us even in our lodgings. These advices, together with the death of Mr. Lisle, so alarmed my companions at Vevay, that I found it difficult to bring them to any certain resolution, every one making a different proposition touching the way we should take to provide for our safety; though for my own part I thought  
nothing

nothing so rational, as to fortify our interest in that place, where the magistrates and people had been always more ready to oblige and serve us, than we could be to ask any favour from them. To this end, with the concurrence of my countrymen, which I at last obtained, I went to M. Geoffray, who was then Chatelain and Deputy-Bailiff of Vevay, acquainting him with the letters we had lately received: and he readily offering to do whatever should be in his power for our service, I proposed, That, considering the design of our enemies was either to surprise us, as they had done in relation to Mr. Lisle, or (all other means failing) to attempt us by open violence; for prevention of both, orders might be issued out to the town of Vevay, and to the other towns and villages of that jurisdiction, to seize and examine such persons as they should find cause to suspect; and that, upon the sound of the great bell at Vevay, upon the firing of a great gun, or the view of a fire upon any of the towers of the said place, they should take arms, secure the passes, and seize all unknown persons, in order to carry them before the Bailiff; and that if these signals should happen to be given in the night, they should be appointed to repair with their arms to our lodgings at Vevay, to receive such orders as should be necessary. The Chatelain approved the proposition, and desired, that such an order might be prepared, promising he would send it to the Bailiff to be signed. Which being drawn up, and sent to the castle of Chillion, the Bailiff most readily signed four orders of the same tenor, and directed them to Vevay, Moutre, the Tower, and Bloney, with injunction that they should be published two several times in the market-places,



ket-places, and before the churches of the said places, that none might pretend cause of ignorance. This worthy person, as he had done us great honour upon all occasions, so at this time finding us to be extraordinarily persecuted, he resolved to shew us more than ordinary marks of his favour; and therefore when he came to town, accompanied by the Baron de Chattelet and. Monf. l'Hospitalier of Villa Nova, he was pleased to make us a visit, and to honour us with his company at dinner; expressing his abhorrence of the baseness and treachery of our enemies, and assuring us of his friendship and services to the utmost of his power.

But Mr. Say, notwithstanding these assurances, and the care he saw taken by our friends for our preservation, would by no means be persuaded to think himself safe whilst he continued in these quarters, where we were all so publicly known; and therefore resolved to retire to some place where he might be incognito; and to that end, accompanied by Col. Bisco, prepared to depart for Germany; earnestly pressing me to the same resolution, and professing himself to be as much concerned for my safety as for his own. I gave him my thanks for his friendship; but acquainted him, that I thought it much better to be in a condition of making opposition against my enemies, than to live in the perpetual fear of being discovered. With which being satisfied, he took leave, after he had assured me, that if we should continue at Vevay till the next spring, he would make us a visit.

The court of England being informed of the assassination of Mr. Lisle, that King procured one Dr. Colladon, a native of Geneva, then residing

siding at London, to write to one of his relations in those parts for a particular information of that action, and to inquire of the same person if I continued still at Vevay, or had removed to Zurich, as was reported; which particulars being too well known to him, to need any such information, it may be justly conjectured, that this message was sent to no other end, than to feel the pulse of the Gentleman, that by his answer he might know, whether he were a fit person to be employed in his honourable designs. Upon the reception of this letter, the person to whom it was directed, being a man of probity and honour, not only gave advice to our friends of the contents; but protested, that if he had a thousand lives, he would lose them all, before he would do us the least injury; utterly refusing to give any information touching the things that were demanded. *Monf. De la Fleschere* also was pleased to continue his care of our safety; advising us, that his kinsman *Monf. Du Pre*, accompanied by *Du Broetti* and *Du Fargis*, had lately given a meeting at *Yvian* to one of the Duke of *Savoy's* guard who used to come into our parts; and that a certain Frenchman living at the same place, was also suspected to be of their gang. He added, that though he had received a thousand assurances from *Du Pre*, that he would never make any farther attempt against us, yet he would not believe him, much less would desire us to rely upon his word; but rather that we should be constantly upon our guard, especially in consideration of what had lately happened to our countryman at *Laufanna*.

This was the last message we received from *Monf. De la Fleschere*; who, without any obligation

gation laid upon him on our part, from the motives of humanity and true goodness, had been so generously serviceable to persons he never saw. For many days had not passed, before we were informed, that a difference arising between this Gentleman and Du Pre, whose sister he had married, a certain Gentlewoman of Tunno, with whom Du Pre was too familiarly acquainted, undertook to make up the dispute. To which Mons. De la Fleschere consenting, and coming to her house for that purpose, was there shot into the body by Du Pre, and afterwards dispatched with a stiletto. But this not being done without noise, divers persons came about the door to inquire what was doing; to whom the Gentlewoman answering, That there had been no other disturbance in the house, than what had been made by some children, they presently departed. Night being come, Du Pre went out; and, after a short stay, brought two country-men with him, and compelled them to take up the body, and to lay it at the door of an infamous house in the same town; threatening to kill them if they disputed his commands, or should afterwards reveal the secret. And that it might be believed, that his brother-in-law had been so used, for endeavouring to effect some bad design, Du Pre went after them to the place where they laid the body, and firing a pistol, left that and a sword upon the ground by him. This hypocrite seemed to be much concerned for his death, and in deep mourning accompanied him to the grave; protesting to his sister, that he would willingly expend a great sum of money to find out the murderer. Yet this mask was soon taken off: for the parliament of Cham-

bery in Savoy having been informed of this murder, and deputed some of their number to make inquiry into the matter ; they, by the depositions they received, suspecting Du Pre to have been the author, sent to seize him : but he, having notice of their intentions, had made his escape before the officers could reach the house where he was.

In England, the Presbyterians had been long before ejected from all the benefices they possessed, and rewarded in the current money of those for whose sake they had betrayed their friends ; the prisons had been frequently filled with all sorts of men dissenting from the church established by the act of uniformity ; the people had been exhausted by frequent and excessive taxes, to supply the luxury of the court ; great numbers of the officers of the old army had, under false or frivolous pretences, been imprisoned or executed ; many of the Irish rebels had been restored to the lands that had been settled upon the English for the reward of their services and blood ; plots had been contrived to furnish the court with a pretence to transport those they feared, to remote and barbarous confinements ; and the design of subverting the rights and liberties of the nation was become manifest.

In this posture of affairs, the court of England thought fit to declare war against the States-General of the United Provinces ; by means of which, some of our friends, conceiving great hopes of the restitution of the commonwealth, entered into a treaty with divers principal ministers of that country, for procuring some forces to join with our oppressed party in England against

gainst the common enemy. Having received information of this treaty, and being pressed by a person of honour and integrity to declare my concurrence in the thing, I acquainted him, That though I should be ready to embrace any good occasion of serving the commonwealth, and relieving my country from oppression, and that I had no great reason to be a friend to the present establishment; yet the treachery of the Dutch, in delivering our three friends into the hands of their enemies, made me fear the same treatment from them, in case of an accommodation with England. For if they had purchased their former agreement with the price of that blood, I could see no reason to persuade me that they would not purchase another with ours. I told him, That all men knew they preferred the profits of trade before any other thing in the world; and how dangerous it might prove to engage with such a sort of men, I left to his judgment to determine; that being convinced in conscience, that they had contracted the guilt of the blood of our friends upon themselves, my duty would not permit me to act in conjunction with them, till they should make satisfaction for that injustice. However, I offered, that if they might be brought to disown that action, as done by the influence of a particular faction, and promise, at a more convenient time, to punish the immediate authors, I would freely hazard my life in the expedition.

In the mean time, I received a letter from Mr. Say, who was then at Amsterdam; in which, among other things, I found these expressions.

“ Believe me, Sir, things are so well prepared here to answer the good ends we all de-



“ fire, that nothing seems to be wanting but  
 “ hands to set the wheels going. Invitations  
 “ and encouragements are not only offered, but  
 “ pressed upon you ; and there is no ground to  
 “ fear their retreat, of which you seem to doubt.  
 “ The ruin of the present government in Eng-  
 “ land is certainly intended, and I have cause  
 “ to believe will be effected ; the States being  
 “ unanimously for this war, and at last brought  
 “ to see that their commonwealth cannot long  
 “ subsist, if monarchy continue in England.  
 “ Of this they will soon give the clearest evi-  
 “ dence, as well as of their resolution to assist  
 “ the commonwealth-interest as far as shall be  
 “ desired ; in which they seem to be no less  
 “ zealous, than how to defend themselves. As  
 “ to the usage our three friends met with in  
 “ this country, I have examined the particu-  
 “ lars, and find the thing to have passed in a  
 “ different manner than has been represented.  
 “ They are able here to give you, or any per-  
 “ son, satisfaction, that the matter does not lie  
 “ so foul upon them, as is generally conceived ;  
 “ and would, if it might be any way conducing  
 “ to the advantage of our affairs, set that busi-  
 “ ness in its true light. But this is not thought  
 “ advisable at present by many of our friends ;  
 “ who think such a course may too much alarm  
 “ the court of England, and put them upon  
 “ measures of procuring peace at any rate. The  
 “ King of England is never mentioned without  
 “ the utmost contempt ; and writings every day  
 “ published to expose his person and govern-  
 “ ment. You may propose what you please for  
 “ your safety, and I dare answer it shall be grant-  
 “ ed : only I must take leave to tell you, that  
 “ the

“ the most private manner of treating is best  
“ approved by our friends. The offers they  
“ make here are very great, and yet no promi-  
“ ses exacted from us for their security. There-  
“ fore I beg of you to think of seeing this place,  
“ and quitting the quarters where you are, that  
“ you may be instrumental in the service of  
“ your country at this time. I am certainly in-  
“ formed, that considerable numbers in Eng-  
“ land, Scotland, and Ireland, sensible of their  
“ present servitude, will appear for us; and  
“ such measures will be taken here for their as-  
“ sistance, that I have great hopes of success.  
“ Nothing seems now so much wanting, as fix-  
“ ed counsels both here and in England; and  
“ no one can be more serviceable than yourself  
“ in this important matter. I beseech you there-  
“ fore let us have your help, for we cannot be  
“ without it; and I am persuaded the work will  
“ prosper in our hands. Make all the expedi-  
“ tion you can in your journey: for though  
“ this be not the conjuncture of action, yet I  
“ am persuaded it is high time to be preparing;  
“ and it will be to our shame if we neglect it.”

About eight days after this, I received another from the same person; in which, having desired me to give credit to the contents of his last, he added, That the Heer Nieuport had, at a conference, assured him, that the intentions of the government of Holland were to relieve the good people in England, and that he should be glad of any overtures to that purpose from me, or any other persons; that there was more in the design of this war than was commonly understood, and that the destruction of the whole Protestant party was intended; that some of the

most eminent of that religion in France had sent messengers into Holland to give information of this matter ; advising, that the States would make the best preparations they could for their defence ; and assuring, that if they should be borne down in this war, the reformed religion would soon be extinguished in France ; that the Dutch had 30,000 men ready to put on board their fleet, of which number 10,000 were land-soldiers, and to be disposed as we should advise and direct ; that a great sum of money was prepared for this service, and that the whole fleet should be commanded to favour our enterprize ; that if it should be thought necessary to transport horse into England, the States would willingly comply in that also, having resolved to endeavour a perfect friendship with the good people of England, which, he said, he hoped should never be broken. At the bottom of the letter were these words : “ I beg of you to lay aside all  
 “ former prejudices ; and as you love the cause  
 “ in which you have engaged, come speedily,  
 “ and set your heart and hand to this work. I  
 “ can certainly assure you, that the most con-  
 “ siderable minister of this state has lately very  
 “ much inquired for you ; and having received  
 “ some account of you, has given us reason to  
 “ hope, that if you will come to them in this  
 “ conjuncture, they will place you at the head  
 “ of such a number of men, as should, by the  
 “ blessing of God, and the concurrence of our  
 “ friends in England, be sufficient to restore the  
 “ commonwealth. I dare assure you, from the  
 “ best information I can get, that on such an  
 “ occasion there would be a greater appearance  
 “ for us, than at the beginning of the late war.

“ Let

“ Let me therefore not hear from you, but see  
“ you.”

Though these offers were very advantageous, especially to one in my condition, and the honour I received more than I could expect; yet these things, I thank God, were no temptation to me. The cause of my country, which is dearer to me than my life, was that alone which made me earnestly wish, that I could have persuaded myself to lay hold of this opportunity, and to join with my friends in this enterprize for our common deliverance. But the reasons before mentioned sat so close upon me, that I was constrained, not without great regret, to acquaint my friends with my intentions to persist in my former resolution, not to enter into a conjunction of counsels and interests with the Dutch, till they had given satisfaction touching the business of the three Gentlemen they had so inhumanely delivered into the hands of our enemies; together with some reasonable assurances, that they would not abandon the concerns of such as should join with them.

In the mean time, a person of honour and quality of the English nation, whom I had never seen, being then at Paris, took care to let me know by a third hand, that the King of England, suspecting I would join with the Dutch against him, had caused the assassins to double their diligence; and that the person who had murdered Mr. Lisle was come to Paris, accompanied with others of the same trade, and had undertaken either to carry me off alive, or to dispatch me upon the place. St. Du, another of this tribe, endeavoured also to engage one Mons. Torneri, a Gentleman of Savoy, and my friend,

friend, in the design against me; promising him a great recompence if it proved successful. He dated his letter from Paris, and desired the answer to be directed to one at Lyons. But Monf. Torneri suspecting him to be nearer to us than he would have it believed, and being desirous to penetrate farther into their secrets, told him in his answer, That money was not to be refused; but that I kept myself so much upon my guard, that nothing could be attempted without previous consultation. This Gentleman did me the favour to give me a sight of the letter and answer; with assurances of his service, and a promise to send me St. Du's reply as soon as it should come to his hands. He informed me also, that Du Pre had been degraded, and broken on the wheel *in effigie*, for the murder of Monf. De la Fleschere; that his estate in Savoy had been confiscated, and that he was fled for protection to the town of Friburg, and that he was countenanced by the magistrates of that place. These things made me resolve upon withdrawing from my lodgings at Vevay, and lying privately for some time, that my enemies might be amused, and uncertain how to lay their designs: which having done, it produced the effect I desired. For no sooner had I withdrawn myself from the public view, but it was generally concluded that I was gone for Holland; which I conjecture might put a stop to the designs against me for that time, and rendered my countrymen at Vevay more safe and undisturbed than they had formerly been.

During this retirement, I received letters from my friends in England, with advice that four persons had been dispatched by the King  
for



for our parts with the accustomed instructions ; but hearing no more concerning them, I concluded they were either the villains of whom I was already informed from Paris, or part of those who had been sent to Augsbourg, with orders from the same hands to assassinate Col. Algernon Sidney ; and probably, being ten in number, might have effected their design, if, having undertaken a journey to Holland upon business relating to the public, he had not removed from that place before their arrival. After I had continued about six weeks privately with my friends at Lausanna, I returned to my quarters at Vevay ; and had not been there above eight or ten days, before a Frenchman, well furnished with money and arms, came to one Mons. Du Fort, a merchant of Vevay, with a letter unsealed from a trader of Geneva, who was little known to him ; which contained an account, That the person who should bring him that letter, having been prosecuted in France for getting a wench with child, had desired to be known to some persons in this place, which he had chosen for his retreat. Though such a recommendation had been sufficient to have caused him to be whipped out of the town, yet other things contributed chiefly to his removal. For it had been observed, that he had acknowledged he came lately from England, and seemed to be well informed of the affairs of that court ; that he was no less instructed of all the circumstances of the assassination of Mr. Lisle ; that he intruded into all companies, and had endeavoured to lodge in several houses that stood most convenient to discover our usual walks ; that he had expressed his discontent, that no one

would

would entertain him without the permission of the council; and had offered to pay double at certain places for a lodging. To this was added, that, on a market-day, having dressed himself in the habit of a buffoon, with a basket on his back, and wooden shoes on his feet, he bought many things that were to be sold at much more than the value, and gave them to the meanest of the people, drawing by that means many idle persons after him. Upon consideration of these things, the Chatelain, by order of the Bailiff, went, attended with his officers, to the inn where he lodged; and, upon examination, finding him unwilling to tell his name, or business in this place, he acquainted him, That by reason of divers attempts that had been made against the English Gentlemen, who had been taken by their Excellencies into protection, it had been resolved, that no stranger should remain at Vevay, without giving a good account of himself; which he having not done, had incurred the consequence, and therefore must resolve to depart within the space of twenty four hours. He was much disturbed whilst the Chatelain was present; but having recovered his spirits, by drinking brandy after his departure, he hired a boat for Villa Nova, pretending to go directly for Milan: but we were informed afterwards, that from Villa Nova he turned short to Savoy, and by the way of Lyons went to Paris.

Some public business requiring the presence of Mr. Treasurer Steiger at Vevay, he came accompanied by Mons. Lentulus, late Bailiff of Laufanna, Commissary-General Godart, and another person of the senate of Bern; and having dispatched

dispatched his affairs, did us the honour to make us a visit; in which, having expressed great kindness and friendship, he informed us, that Du Pre had procured the magistrates of Friburg to give instructions to Col. Pharamond, and their other Deputies then at Bern, to solicit their Lordships for the restitution of his lands; but that the council was so far from doing as he desired, that they forthwith caused the Advoyer to issue out an order to seize his person, if he should come within the territories of their jurisdiction; and to send new instructions to the Bailiff of Morges for receiving his rents, and employing them in public uses; directing the said Treasurer Steiger to give the Deputies an account of their proceedings: which when he had done, and acquainted them with the attempt Du Pre had made to assassinate us, together with the murder he had committed upon the person of his brother-in-law, and many other villanies of which he had been guilty, the Colonel said, that he had not heard any thing of these matters before; and desiring to be excused, promised never to open his mouth more in his behalf. The next day we returned the visit we had received from the Treasurer and his company, and were most affectionately received; all of them expressing themselves with the utmost friendship, and assuring us of the care and favour of the government.

Of this we had in a short time the most evident demonstration. For their Excellencies of Bern having received information, that Du Pre designed to take a journey to a place in Burgundy called *Joigny*, they sent out two parties to lie upon the way; one of which meeting with him,  
and

and commanding him in their Lordships name to surrender himself, he at first made some resistance ; but, finding that way too hazardous, he clapped spurs to his horse ; and when he was at some distance from the guard, endeavouring to leap a deep and broad ditch, he fell with his horse into the middle of it. Some people who were carrying in the harvest, seeing him in distress, and not knowing that he was pursued by public authority, hastened to his relief. But he being conscious of his own crimes, and therefore suspecting all men to be his enemies, fired one of his pistols upon them ; which provoked the countrymen to entertain him with stones, till the officers came up, and seized him. They found a case of pistols at his saddle, another pair at his girdle, and a carabine hanging by his side. In his pocket was a letter directed to him without any name subscribed, containing in substance, That he should inform himself where the great whale or the little old fish might be found ; and give notice if any public honours had been done to the memory of the English Gentleman who was killed at Laufanna. The rest of his papers and letters he had torn in pieces before he could be taken ; but upon putting them together in the best manner that was possible, it appeared, that most of them had relation to the same subject, and were full of malicious expressions against the government of Bern. He was carried to the house of one Mons. De la Berchere, a Gentleman living near the place where he was seized ; and being kept there all night, he was the next day brought prisoner to Yverden, and committed to the castle.

Their

Their Excellencies having received information of the seizing and imprisonment of Du Pre, dispatched orders to their officers at Vevay, to examine all persons upon oath who might know any thing concerning the attempt made against us, in which he had been a principal actor; and to transmit to them the examination and confession of the waterman which had been taken by the Bailiff at the castle of Chillion. Whilst the evidence was preparing against him, great interest was made to their Lordships of Bern for their favour to the prisoner. But meeting with cold reception from them, they applied themselves to those of Yverden, who were to give the first judgment in the case. His mother being admitted to speak with him in presence of the guard, told him, that certain fathers Capuchins would remember him in their prayers. But he had another game to play; and having already promised to quit the Romish superstition, and to educate his son in the reformed religion, if by that means he might save his life, answered, That he owned no such persons to be his fathers; that he needed not their prayers, and that they might have enough to do if they would pray for themselves. By these and other artifices that were used by himself and his friends, the officers of justice at Yverden were persuaded to sentence him only to be banished, and to pay the fine of 100 l. But four of the twelve who were his judges dissented from the rest; and not only voted him worthy of death, but signed a paper to that purpose, and presented it in their own persons to their Excellencies, that they might acquit themselves from the blame of this proceeding. When the judgment was presented



to the Lords of Bern for their approbation, they esteemed it to intrench upon their sovereignty; in that an inferior jurisdiction had taken upon them not only to moderate the punishment, but also to ascertain the fine. His mother, and divers other persons who had accompanied the sentence to Bern, most earnestly solicited to get it confirmed. But because Mr. Treasurer Steiger was to go to Friburg the next day about some public affairs, the consideration of this business was deferred for seven or eight days. At which time the Treasurer being returned, the cause was heard before their Excellencies; and, after mature deliberation, Du Pre was condemned to lose his head on the next ensuing Monday. The principal crimes objected against him were, That he had stoln and ravished the person he had since married, who was born, and resided within the jurisdiction of Bern; and that he had made an attempt to assassinate one or more of the English Gentlemen that were protected by their Excellencies. He denied, that he had taken his wife away in a violent manner, or that he designed to take away the life of any other Englishman except me. He said also, That having resolved to use him thus, they might have acquainted him sooner with their intentions, and not have encouraged him to such a mis-spending of his time as they had done. And indeed, though this could not justly be objected to their Excellencies, who designed no more than that he might be civilly entertained till the time of his trial, yet divers of the magistrates of Yverden can by no means be excused, who drank, and plaid at cards, with him in the prison. The day appointed for his execution being come, he

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was brought down: but the terrors of death, with the dismal reflexions upon his past life, seized upon him to such a degree, that he fell into a rage, throwing himself on the ground, biting and kicking those that stood near, and asking if there were no hopes of pardon. He was told, that he ought to remember, that if he had been taken in his own country, where he had murdered his brother-in-law, and had been broken *in effigie* on the wheel, he should not have been used so gently. He refused to go to the place of execution any otherwise than by force: so that about two hours were spent before he arrived at the place where he was to die, though it was within musket-shot of the prison. Here the executioner put a cap on his head, and placed a chair that he might sit; but he took off the cap, and threw it away, and kicked down the chair among the people. When the executioner saw this, he tied his hands between his knees; and having assured him, that if he persisted in his resistance, he would cut him into forty pieces, after about an hour's contest, he at last performed his office.

Soon after this, Mr. Treasurer Steiger accompanied by our Bailiff, and some Gentlemen of Bern, was pleased to make us a public visit; leaving the officers that attended him, who were fifteen or sixteen in number, at our gate, to the end, as he informed us, that the people, observing the consideration and favour we received, might be quickened in their duty upon any occasion that might happen. He gave us an account of the proceedings against Du Pre; and informed us, that when the watermen of Morges had carried his mother back to Tunno, and those of

that place had taken the liberty to censure the justice of Bern; Madam de la Fleschere, the widow of our good friend, and sister to Du Pre, coming to meet her mother at the water-side, had presently silenced them, and openly said, that though he was her brother, yet she acknowledged their Excellencies had done nothing in relation to him but that which was most just. In this conversation he informed us also, that being in Italy in the year 1643, when the war between the late King and the parliament was, as he expressed it, most inflamed, he had there seen a bull from the Pope, for encouraging all good Catholics to take arms for the King against the parliament; promising, that those who should lose their lives on his side in that quarrel, should go forthwith to heaven. Which is so plain, that it needs no comment.

By this time my friends in Holland began to think they had been deluded with vain hopes from that people; but being unwilling to take the shame of their credulity upon themselves, they resolved to lay the blame upon me; alledging, that those of the States who had treated with them, having inquired why I was not come to Holland, and receiving no satisfactory answer, had concluded we were not agreed among ourselves, and on that account would not proceed to finish the treaty. Whereas indeed the true reason was, that they were still in hopes of patching up a peace with England; or if that should fail, they promised themselves the assistance of France, whose interest seemed to be very different from ours. Accordingly the King of France being solicited by the Dutch to make good the last treaty with that state, and finding-  
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he could not procure a peace for them, withdrew his Ambassador from London, and declared war against England. Soon after which a declaration of war was also published in London against the French King, and entertained by the people with great joy, the Mayor and Aldermen attending on the proclamation in their habits of ceremony.

On occasion of this war, one Monf. Stuppa, a native of the Grisons, formerly a minister, and at that time an officer in the French service, was sent into his own country to raise men; and having performed his commission, resolved to pass by Vevay in his return to Paris. Being come to this place, he procured some of my friends to desire me to give him a meeting; to which I consented. After some general discourse upon the present conjuncture, he acquainted me, that though he had no express orders either from France or Holland to make any proposition to me; yet he acknowledged, that the Dutch Ambassador, then residing at Paris, had so far opened himself, as to tell him, that his masters designing nothing more in this war than to secure themselves from such double dealing as they had met with from the English court; and their quarrel not being against the people, but only against the King of England, he hoped I might be brought to act in conjunction with them for the good of my own country. Then he proceeded to ask what grounds there might be to hope that the commonwealth-party, with a moderate number of forces to join with them, would be able to carry their point; professing himself to be as well in judgment as interest disposed to wish them well. And on this head we

went over many particulars, though I durst not be so free with him as was requisite to a full clearing of such matters. Some days after this, we had another conference; in which, by the persuasion of a particular friend, I acquainted him, that if any just and honourable way should be proposed for the restitution of the republic in England, I would readily use the best of my endeavours, and hazard my life in that service. He seemed well satisfied with this answer; and having assured me that a great sum of money would be advanced to give life to the interest of our friends, and to assist them in their preparations for action, we agreed on a way of correspondence, and so parted.

The next morning, one Mr. Constance came to me from the Count of Donnagh, with a message to desire me to meet him privately at Lausanne; which I promised to do the more willingly, because the said Count had lately given proof of his kindness to us, by sending me advice, that his Lady's father passing through Chavillon, (the principal place of our enemies rendezvous), had been certainly informed, that those who had murdered Mr. Lisle, were come again into those parts with intentions to assassinate us, and more particularly me; assuring, that I might give credit to the thing, because it had been imparted to his father-in-law, on supposition that he approved the design. The Gentleman informed me also, that the Count had a commission from the States of Holland to raise 3000 men in those parts; that the Heer John de Witte had advised him to see me, and that he hoped the levies he was to make, might be employed for the restitution of the commonwealth in England.



land. To which I answered, as I had done before to Monf. Stuppa, That I was always ready to lay down my life in fo good a caufe.

Few days after this, I received a letter from Holland to inform me, That our friends were entering into new meafures ; and that the Heer John de Witte, together with the Heer Nieuport, and others who feemed moft affectionate to us, had advifed, that, for feveral reafons, the treaty between Holland and our friends might be carried on at Paris ; that Col. Algernon Sidney and I would repair to France for that purpofe, where we fhould be lodged at the houfe of the Dutch Ambaffador ; promifing, that we fhould have paffports in the beft form, requiring all magiftrates and other officers in that kingdom to be ferviceable and affifting to us. In the fame packet I had another from England to inform me, that the condition of our friends there was not contemptible ; and that they thought no hazards too great to be ventured, in order to deliver themfelves from the evils they fuffered, and greater which they had juft caufe to fear. They exhorted me therefore to lay afide all fcruples and former prejudices, and to improve the prefent favourable conjuncture to the advantage of the commonwealth. Thefe letters were accompanied with three more ; one from Col. Algernon Sidney, inviting me to give him a meeting at Bafle, in order to continue our journey from thence to Paris. The other two were written by Mr. Say and Col. Bifco, to prefs me to engage in this undertaking ; promifing, that if I would refolve to go, all the exiles would not fail to accompany me ; and adding, that if I refused, they believed no man would ftir. I found by  
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these letters, that there had been some heats and jealousies between Col. Sidney and Mr. Say; the former charging Mr. Say with having privately dissuaded me from engaging in this enterprize, and Mr. Say accusing Col. Sidney of using all the means he could to discourage me. But, to do them justice, I must needs say, that they both endeavoured to the utmost of their power to engage me in this affair.

These things brought me into great doubts and difficulties. For, on the one hand, if I should neglect the present offers, and the design should miscarry, I foresaw that my friends, who had solicited me to engage, would not fail to attribute the fault to me, by whatever means the ill success should happen. On the other side, if I should resolve to enter upon such a treaty, besides my own want of ability for the management of so great an affair, the unsuitableness of my principles and circumstances, together with the aversion I had to treat in France, and perhaps with that King's ministers, who had all along favoured those bloody designs which had been contrived against my life, I could not see how I might come to any resolution what to offer, demand, promise, or perform. Being under this perplexity, I was attacked again on the same account by two of our friends, who made a journey from Holland on purpose to persuade me to take part in this affair. So that, finding myself thus pressed on all hands, I told them, that the Lord Jermyn being lately arrived at Paris, with orders from the court of England, to treat of an accommodation with the King of France, in which he would not fail to be powerfully assisted by the Queen-mother of England; this

this treaty might take effect, as that of the Bishop of Munster with the States had already done; by which means it would certainly fall out, that, though we should not be betrayed by the French, which I doubted, yet the Lords of Bern would no longer think themselves obliged to protect us, as they had hitherto done; that if the levies of Swiss soldiers, which the States were about to make, should be designed for England, as we had been informed, I thought my present stay in those parts might be of more use to the public, than if I should take the journey that was proposed; and that for many reasons I was very unwilling to put myself into the hands of the King of France. Yet, that they might see I would go as great a length in this business as I could, I offered, that if the States should think fit to publish a declaration to acknowledge the error of delivering up our three friends; promise to use their endeavours to restore the commonwealth to the exercise of their authority; furnish such a number of troops of the reformed religion as might be probably sufficient to protect our friends in coming in to them, and oblige themselves not to leave us in a worse condition than we were at that time, I would heartily engage in the enterprize. With this answer my two friends returned to Holland; and being on their way, sent me word, that the person who resided for the King of France at Mentz, and is brother to his Ambassador at Ratisbon, had been at Francfort on purpose to meet Col. Sidney and me, supposing we had both been at that place; where, in a conference with the Colonel, he had communicated to him a letter from Monsr. De Lyonne Secretary of State, written in cypher by  
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the order of the King of France; in which he was commanded to acquaint us, that if we would go to to Paris, we should have all the security the government could give, or we could desire, for the safety of our persons.

The court of England having received some obscure informations of a design carried on by the Dutch to land some forces to assist their enemies at home, published a proclamation, to require Col. John Desbrowe, Col. Thomas Kelsey, Col. John White, Maj. John Grove, Sir Robert Honeywood junior, Capt. John Nicholas of Monmouth, and divers other persons, to return into England, and to surrender themselves into the hands of some Justice of the Peace in the county where they should land, before the 23d day of the next ensuing July, on pain of being proceeded against as traitors. But not being contented with this, they employed a Jesuit to procure the Pensioner John de Witte to be murdered; who not only undertook that employment, but promised to get me to be assassinated also. Mynheer Nieuport, who had formerly been Ambassador for the States in England, sent his son to Mr. Say to acquaint him with this matter; assuring him, that the Jesuit was already come to Holland, and that they hoped to seize him: but lest other persons might be engaged with him in the design against me, of whom they had no information, he desired, that I might be forthwith advised of what they had discovered; which Mr. Say punctually performed.

Our friends began now to perceive the effects of Jermyn's negotiation, and that the French King would rather chuse to procure to himself the management of the court of England at any rate,

rate, than either to do an honourable thing for men in distress, or to give his allies common satisfaction in the smallest things that might disgust his brother of England in this conjuncture. For the Dutch Ambassador having demanded that Te Deum might be sung in the great church at Paris for the late victory they had obtained against the English fleet commanded by Monk and Prince Rupert, he refused to permit it, for three reasons : First, On account that they differed in religion ; in the second place, That having had no forces in the engagement, he could have no share in the victory ; and, thirdly, That it would be of little advantage to either of the States to triumph over their enemies. Our friends had been made to believe, that they should have the assistance of France in a great sum of money ; but few of them approved of their sending forces, as was last proposed, suspecting their fidelity in case of success. And I think the event shewed, that this last proposition was made by the French (who had been lately intriguing with the court of England) in confidence that it would not be accepted.

But however affairs might stand in France, yet our friends in Holland had not lost all hopes ; as may appear by the following letter which I received from thence.

“ S I R,

“ **W**E cannot look upon the frequent and  
“ earnest applications of so many of  
“ our friends for your coming into these parts  
“ to be lost. We are fully satisfied of our in-  
“ terest with you ; and have heard with joy the  
“ report



“ report of those Gentlemen who were lately at  
 “ Vevay, how much you are concerned for the  
 “ public cause. We cannot but be sensible of  
 “ the difference between treating with a mo-  
 “ narch, and engaging with a free state, and  
 “ are glad to find that the same principles which  
 “ arm you against the one, cause you to incline  
 “ to the other upon reasonable terms; which  
 “ we doubt not would be offered, if you would  
 “ appear among us. They have here received  
 “ such an account of the condition of our friends  
 “ in England, that they are inclined to give us  
 “ considerable succours of all things necessary  
 “ for our enterprize. This is the second time  
 “ that the States have caused a great body of  
 “ land-forces to be shipped on board their fleet  
 “ purely on our account; protesting in the most  
 “ solemn manner, that they have no other de-  
 “ sign than to give the good people of England  
 “ a seasonable and effectual aid. If we lose this  
 “ opportunity, we may probably repent our  
 “ folly, but shall hardly redeem our credit.  
 “ For these reasons we renew our most affectio-  
 “ nate desires that you would hasten to us, and  
 “ hope for your speedy answer rather in person  
 “ than by writing, lest this also be added to all  
 “ our former afflictions, that another opportu-  
 “ nity be lost.”

This letter being subscribed by many persons,  
 was sent to me by the way of Germany, and a  
 duplicate being dispatched at the same time  
 through France, I received both. From all  
 which, considering that so much weight was  
 laid upon my presence in Holland, though I  
 could see little reason for their opinion, I resol-  
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ved to insist no longer upon any thing to be done by the States previous to my engagement; but only that they would disclaim that action which had passed in relation to our three friends, and promise to make provision, in any treaty they should make with our enemies, for all those who should engage with them, or at least to leave them in as good a condition as they were at the time of their engagement. If this could be effected, I determined to make use of the following passport, which I had received from the Count D'Estades, Ambassador for the King of France to the States-General of the United Provinces.

**Le Comte D'Estades, Lieutenant-Général en Chef dans les armées du Roy, Gouverneur de Donquerque, Maire Perpétuel de Bourdeaux, Vice-Roy de l'Amérique, Chevalier des ordres de sa Majesté, & son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire en Hollande.**

**N***ous requérons tous Gouverneurs, Commandeurs, Capitaines, Lieutenants, Maires, Eschevins, Juges, & autres officiers tant de mer que de terre, à qui il appartiendra, de laisser seurement & librement passer, chacun par les lieux de ses pouvoirs & juridictions, le Sieur Edmond Ludlow & quatre valets, sans aucun trouble ou empêchement; mais plutôt avec toute faveur, aide & assistance, & ils nous feront un singulier plaisir. Fait à la Haye, le 2 jour de Mars 1666.*

His seal of arms  
was here affixed.

D'ESTADES.

The same in English.

“ *The Count D’Estrades, Lieutenant-General in*  
 “ *Chief of the King’s armies, Governor of*  
 “ *Dunkirk, Perpetual Mayor of Bourdeaux,*  
 “ *Vice-Roy of America, Knight of his Maje-*  
 “ *sty’s orders, and his Extraordinary Ambaf-*  
 “ *sador in Holland.*

“ **W**E require all Governors, Command-  
 “ ers, Captains, Lieutenants, Mayors,  
 “ Sheriffs, Judges, and other officers to whom  
 “ it may belong, as well by sea as by land, to  
 “ permit —————, with four servants, to  
 “ pass freely and safely through the places of  
 “ their respective powers and jurisdictions, with-  
 “ out any trouble or impediment; but rather  
 “ with all manner of favour, aid and assistance;  
 “ and so they will do us a singular pleasure.  
 “ Given at the Hague, the 2d of March 1666.

“ D’ESTRADES.”

Some time after this, an engagement happening between the English and Dutch fleets; though both parties made bonfires for the victory, yet the court of England, conceiving the advantage to have been on their side, resolved to improve the opportunity for the advancement of the Prince of Orange. To this end, the Earl of Arlington, who was then Secretary of State, wrote a letter to one Buat, a Frenchman, with whom he had correspondence; and knowing him to be well affected to the Prince, acquainted him, that he judged this to be the time of promoting that interest. Buat, who, though he had a military command in Holland, yet pretended

pretended to serve that state with intelligence from foreign parts; having, on that account, some paper to present to the Pensionary John de Witte, put the Lord Arlington's letter by mistake into his hands. Upon this Buat was seized with his papers: which, as was said, gave them so much light, that Trump, with his brother-in-law, the Sieur Kuivoit of Rotterdam, were removed from their employments, and forbidden to appear in any public council; the latter, with one Vanderhulst of the same place, departing the country. Many others were seized; and orders being given to prosecute Buat for treason, he was found guilty, and condemned to lose his head. Trump was confined to his house, and the Baron de Ghent was appointed to succeed him in his command by sea.

About the middle of September 1666, the Count of Donnagh sent me advice by M. Constance, that, having been at Chatillion, the usual place of our enemies rendezvous, he had obliged the master of the inn where they met, to promise, That if he should discover any persons to have a design against us for the future, or if those who formerly frequented his house on that account should at any time return thither, he would not fail to inform him forthwith. This message was the more seasonable, because, within few days, our good friend Mons. Torneri, upon whom alone, since the death of Mons. De la Fleschere, we depended for intelligence from Savoy, was murdered by Du Fargis, one of those who with Du Pre attempted to assassinate us in the year 1664. It was said, that Mons. Torneri had spoken some words concerning Du Fargis, which containing too much truth,

and therefore most offending; Du Fargis, having waited some time for an occasion of revenge, at last shot him in the head, as he was on horseback taking leave of his sister at her house in Yvian; of which wound he died the same day.

The court of England, having procured from the parliament a grant of about 1,800,000 l. under colour of carrying on the war against Holland and France, began, immediately after the prorogation of the parliament, to discover their intentions to make peace with their neighbours. Presents and offices of civility passed frequently between Paris and London; and the King of France sent orders to all his ports, that if any English ships should be forced into them by stress of weather, or otherwise, they should be received, and assisted with all things necessary. The King of England acquainted the Ambassador of Sweden, that, as mediator, he might intimate to the States, that, upon an invitation from them, they should not find him averse from peace; and that he was contented the Hague should be the place of treating. But the Pensionary John de Witte, who well knew what opportunities of sowing divisions among them the Hague would afford, calling to mind, that the King had formerly pretended he would never be brought to treat in any other place than at London; and therefore suspecting, that, by this seeming condescension, he might propose to himself to do that by little arts, which he could not compass by open force, procured the States to excuse themselves from treating at the Hague, under colour, that, being an open town, they could not so well protect such ministers as should be



be sent to treat from the insults of the people, as they had formerly experienced to their great regret ; and to offer Utrecht, Breda, or Maestricht, for the place of treating, at the choice of the King of England. When the Swedish Ambassador had communicated this answer to the King, he fell into a great passion, not so much on account of their refusal, but because he saw his designs discovered. However, being resolved not to set out the fleet, and therefore constrained to be calm; he swallowed the bitter draught, and made choice of Breda for this purpose. He nominated Mr. Denzil Hollis, who, for his merits in helping to bring about the late change, was now called Lord Hollis, together with one Mr. Coventry, to be his commissioners for treating the peace; putting on an appearance of caressing the Dutch, calling them his allies, offering that each party should keep what they possessed ; and that the treaty concluded between them in the year 1662 should be the foundation of this. The seamen wanting employment, entered themselves for the most part into the service of the merchants, and some of them into that of the States ; by which means it became impossible to man out a fleet upon any occasion, however pressing.

The Dutch, being well informed of what passed in England, and thinking this opportunity not to be neglected, made as great preparations for war as they had ever done. De Ruyter was appointed to command the fleet, and 4000 landmen were put on board under the conduct of one Col. Doleman, an experienced officer ; and who, for not rendering himself within the time limited by the late proclamation, had incurred

the penalty of treason by virtue of a late act passed at Westminster, and on that account believed to be more firm to their interest. In this conjuncture, my friends and countrymen in Holland attacked me again with letters; assuring me, that nothing could hinder the speedy dispatch of this fleet, but the expectation of my arrival; that the States had resolved to land a considerable force in a certain place in England by their advice, and that our friends in England should have timely notice of their intentions; that Col. Doleman was to command those troops as General, unless I should arrive before the sailing of the fleet; and in such case it was ordered, that he should have the next post under me. But having received no satisfaction touching those things upon which I had formerly insisted, being of opinion that it lay within the power of the court of England to make peace with the Dutch when they pleased, and conceiving that the great preparations made by the Dutch, and the correspondences kept on foot with our friends, were only in order to constrain the King to a compliance with them; I returned for my answer, That I thought Col. Doleman, who was in the actual service of the States, and an able officer, to be much fitter for that employment than myself. But if, contrary to my sense of things, the States and our friends should judge otherwise, I told them again, that if I might have satisfaction in the two points I formerly mentioned, I would not be wanting to contribute my best assistance to the service of the public, though in the lowest degree of employment; and that if I might be assured that a journey to Holland at this time would not tend to deprive me of the  
protection

protection I now enjoyed, I would not fail, for their satisfaction, to undertake it without delay, that we might debate these things together upon the place. It soon appeared, that I had good ground for this caution: for upon the arming of the Bishop of Munster, contrary to the late agreement he had made, and the restitution of Rhynberg demanded by the Elector of Cologne, together with some other accidents, the Dutch shewed themselves ready to treat with England, upon the foot of the treaty concluded between them in the year 1662; with little alteration in the articles touching the King's enemies, and none at all in that relating to the late King's judges.

The English Plenipotentiaries, notwithstanding the ill condition of affairs at home, spent a whole month at Breda, without entering into conference with those of Holland: which, with the quarrels that happened between these two ministers, gave the States a farther occasion to improve the present conjuncture to the best advantage; many of them declaring openly, that they would protect the most obnoxious of the King's enemies. In this resolution they sent their fleet to sea, and made directly for the river of Thames, with their land-forces on board. The court of England having made no preparations for the defence of the nation, was alarmed to the last degree with the news of their approach. And at the first meeting of the council, a proposition was made, to assemble the parliament with all possible expedition, though they had been adjourned to the 10th of October, that, by their advice, either a peace might be made to the satisfaction of the nation, or the war carried

ried on to the best advantage. On the other side, the Chancellor Hyde, knowing himself to be in danger from the parliament, did all that he could to oppose that motion; and conceiving an army more useful to promote the arbitrary designs of the court, took this occasion to propose the raising of 12,000 men. And though the major part of the council carried it for assembling the parliament on the 25th of the next ensuing July, and that a proclamation should be forthwith published to that end; yet the design of raising an army was not laid aside.

The Dutch Admiral, finding no enemies at sea, resolved to attack the English in their own harbours; and to that end made all sail for the river. The first English ships he saw, were eight or nine outward bound merchant-men, with their convoy; which, upon discovery of the Holland fleet, having tacked about, he chased them up to the Hope; but being suddenly becalmed, he was obliged to come to an anchor. Here he met with a storm, which ending in a favourable north-east wind, he stood towards the isle of Shepway; and, being arrived there, he landed about 800 men, seized the island, and took the fort of Sheerness; a ship of war that lay for the guard of that fort being taken by some of their great ships at the same time. Having possessed themselves of this fort, eighteen of their lesser vessels, with some fireships, under the conduct of Vice-Adm. Van Ghent, sailed the next day into the river of Chatham; and, notwithstanding the ships that had been sunk to hinder their passage, came up to an iron chain that traversed the river, and had been made on this occasion, fought the Matthias, and

Charles

Charles V. which were ordered to defend it, killed most of their men, burnt the ships, and broke the chain. Then passing by Upner castle, they burnt the Mary, took the Unity and the Royal Charles, and placed their colours upon the latter in view of her master, who stood on the shore observing the effects of his prudent and vigilant government. On the third day they burnt the Royal Oak, the Royal James, and the Loyal London, with divers other smaller vessels. In this deplorable state of affairs, Monk being desirous to save the remaining ships, he caused them to be sunk in the river; and ordered five fireships to fall in among the Dutch fleet, but without the success he expected. In the mean time, the trained bands from all the adjacent parts were marching towards Chatham, to endeavour to prevent farther mischief by land; nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall; and platforms furnished with artillery, and works to defend them, were raised in divers places, to hinder the enemy from coming up to London. But the Dutch, who had another game to play, having exacted a sum of money from the inhabitants of Shepway, and carried off the guns and ammunition they found at Sheerness, fell down with their fleet to the Buoy in the Nore, and Solebay; giving leisure to all parties to make their reflexions upon this expedition; the court, in the mean time, taking hold of this occasion to colour the raising of land-forces.

These losses, and this dishonour falling upon the English, were not without effect at Breda. For their Plenipotentiaries, who had hitherto been very slow in their negotiation, now applied themselves



themselves so effectually to the work, that in two or three days they made a considerable progress in the treaty, and agreed to the articles that were thought to contain the greatest difficulties. One article concerning Denmark retarded the conclusion for some days, the English Ambassadors desiring time to know the King's pleasure in that matter. But he, being compelled to submit to the present necessity, ordered them to sign all, expecting to take revenge at a more convenient time.

By this time it was manifest, that though the Pensionary John de Witte, and the Heer Nieuport, with one or two more, might be sincere in their dealings with us; yet the far greater part of the States and their officers had desired our conjunction with them for no other end, than to procure better terms for themselves from our common enemy; chusing rather to see a tyranny than a commonwealth established in England, as knowing, by experience, that they could corrupt the former, and by that means possess themselves of the most profitable parts of trade. And therefore, having procured from the English court some new advantages for their commerce, notwithstanding all that had passed, and their most solemn protestations made to our friends, they agreed to articles touching the King's enemies, which were the same in substance with those of 1662; promising to deliver up those they call regicides into the hands of the King's ministers, or others appointed by him; and to deal with all persons who should be declared fugitives or rebels, as I have mentioned already in another place: only, forsooth, those who fly to them for matters of conscience, shall  
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not be judged to be comprehended in that article; as if the King would not be glad to clear his hands of all those who have any conscience, having pressed them long since to shew their peaceable disposition, by retiring into some of the American plantations, where they might enjoy the liberty of their consciences without interruption. Besides, if he should desire to reach any persons who might withdraw to Holland on this account, it is but charging them with some heinous crime, and then they are to be treated as rebels and fugitives. But having purchased the former peace with the price of blood, they resolved to strengthen the second with the same cement. So that I think it may be concluded without injustice, that the Dutch had no real intention to do any good to those who were oppressed in England; and that it was in the power of that court to make peace with them whenever they pleased, though with the ruin of those who should engage on their side. And I conceive myself obliged to bless God for the caution I used in requiring them to deal plainly and openly in the things which I demanded, and they pretended to do for us, before I would join in the undertaking. If the Dutch had been necessitated by ill success to accept such terms as they could get from the court of England, I doubt not all the blame would have been thrown upon me; but since it pleased God to put it into their power to do us all the good imaginable, and our enemies all the hurt, it is past dispute that the defect was altogether in their will.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the parliament met on the 25th of July, according to the late proclamation; and entering immediately

ly upon the debate of the army, which they resolved to break, spoke so clearly and freely touching that matter, that the court resolved to give them a little interruption, hoping in that time to take off some of those who had appeared with the greatest warmth by such means as they had in their hands ; or if that design should not succeed, to think upon taking new measures. To this end, they were acquainted by the Chancellor Hyde, that it was the King's pleasure they should adjourn till the 29th of the same month. But before this message came to them, they had passed a resolution, That the King should be desired forthwith to disband the army he had lately raised. The day to which they had been adjourned being come, and the house full of members, their Speaker appeared not, till the King came to the house of Peers ; where, having sent for the house of Commons, he made a short speech touching the late peace, and then directed the Chancellor to do as he had commanded ; who, without any preamble, told them, that it was his Majesty's pleasure they should be adjourned to the 10th of October next. But for all this, some of the council had the courage to oppose these violent courses, and to advise, that the army might be disbanded according to the desire of the house of Commons ; that the seal should be taken from Hyde ; and that the parliament should meet at the time appointed, and be left to the liberty of providing for the public safety in their own way. Pursuant to this advice, Monk was employed to demand the seal of the Chancellor, and embraced this occasion of revenge with joy ; for the Chancellor had openly blamed his conduct in presuming to at-

tack the whole Dutch fleet the last year, whilst Prince Rupert, with part of the English fleet, was separated from him. The Chancellor refused to deliver the seal to Monk, under pretence, that some men had suffered for parting with it too easily; telling him, that he would bring it to the King in council the next day; being not without hopes, by his interest and presence, to prevail with them to change their resolution. But his master, finding himself obliged to give way to the present torrent, persisted in his demand; and having received the seal from his hands, intrusted it to Sir Orlando Bridgman, with the title of Lord Keeper.

Among the various reasons that were given to justify the King in abandoning the Chancellor to the resentment of the people, one was, That he had countermined the King in the design he had to be divorced from the Queen, under pretence that she had been pre-engaged to another person, that she had made a vow of chastity before her marriage, and that she was incapable of having children. The person designed to fill her place, was one Mrs. Stuart, a young and beautiful Lady, who had some office under the Queen. The Chancellor, who had procured his daughter to be married to the Duke of York, and was therefore suspected of having made the match with the Infanta of Portugal, that he might make way for the succession of the collateral line, sent for the Duke of Richmond; and pretending to be sorry that a person of his worth, and near relation to the King, should receive no marks of his favour, advised him to marry Mrs. Stuart, as the most certain way he could take to advance himself. The young man unwarily

took in the bait; and credulously relying upon what the old volpone had said, made immediate application to the young Lady, who was ignorant of the King's intentions, and in a few days married her. The King, being thus disappointed, and soon after informed by what means this match had been brought about, banished the Duke with his new Duchess from the court, and kept his resentment against the Chancellor to a more convenient opportunity.

By letters from Paris I was informed, that the Duchess of Orleans, not at all discouraged by the unsuccessfulness of the attempts of her instruments against us, had openly declared, that she would not rest till the design should be effected, if money would bring it about; and, to that end, had employed other persons than those who had formerly endeavoured to assassinate us. Few days after, a Swiss merchant residing at Lyons, coming to Vevay upon business relating to his profession, acquainted me, that having observed an English Gentleman of a reserved carriage to have taken a lodging in a private house at Lyons; and finding upon inquiry that he was no trader, thinking him to be too far advanced in age to travel either for pleasure, or to acquire experience, and disliking the company he frequented, he began to suspect him to be one of those who were employed in the design against us; and being desirous to know the truth, in order to do us what service he could, he soon found means to be introduced into his acquaintance. After two or three days conversation, the Gentleman finding him to be a Swiss, and of the canton of Friburg, inquired of him, whether Vevay were within that jurisdiction, whether



ther the English Gentlemen were still there, and in what number, and whether he had any acquaintance or interest in the place; and upon answer, that he had many friends there, he began to make him great offers if he would enter into an engagement against us. He proceeded to tell me, That, in order to draw out what he could of the design, he had objected the difficulty of the undertaking, by reason those Gentlemen were so constantly upon their guard, and so well beloved by all persons in the town; that no stranger could come thither without being strictly examined and diligently observed: besides, that their Excellencies of Bern, by so severely punishing one of those who had attempted to assassinate them, had sufficiently declared to the world what usage others might expect, who should engage in such an enterprize. To which the assassin made answer, That he was convinced there was no hope of carrying any of us off by force, or attempting against us in an open manner, but that the business might be done from a hedge, or a wall, by persons disguised: adding, That Riardo and others had foolishly squandered away the money of the Duchess of Orleans; but that now the design was so well laid, that it could not easily miscarry. This person he described to be of a low stature, his hair of a dark brown, beginning to turn gray, of quick apprehension, and of an active and strong constitution. He informed me also, That though some persons in Savoy had undertaken for a considerable sum to raise such a party of men as might seize us by open force; yet those who had engaged them, failing to supply them with money according to agreement, that design, and all o-

thers of that nature, he believed, were totally laid aside. He concluded with assuring me, that he would take pains to learn what he could of this or any other thing that might concern us, and not fail to give me timely and faithful advice of what he should discover.

The part in this scene on which our enemies laid most weight, was to be acted by one Roux, a quick-witted, nimble-tongued, and confident Frenchman, who, upon recommendation from France, was entertained at the house of one Col. Balthazar, in the country of Veaux, as others had been who were engaged in the same villainous design. He gave himself out for a considerable person, and pretended to be commissioned from the King of England, to treat about affairs of great importance with the four Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and more particularly with their Lordships of Bern. Col. Balthazar had lived for some time in the Palatinate under mean circumstances; but putting himself into the armies of the King of France, he, in a short time, by plunder and rapine had accumulated great riches. Between these two it was concerted, That Col. Weifs, a Senator of Bern, whom I have had occasion to mention before, being at Geneva, by order of their Excellencies, for adjusting some matters in difference between that republic and the Duke of Savoy, should, after he had dispatched his affairs, be invited to the house of Col. Balthazar. Which being accordingly done, Roux was introduced into his company; and, after some discourse, informed him, That the King of England was desirous to entertain a more particular correspondence with the Protestant cantons, and especial-  
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ly that of Bern, than he had done for the time past, if on their part they would make him the compliment to desire it by an agent, to be sent into England on that account, and, preliminary to this treaty, would withdraw their protection from those who had contributed to the death of his father; expressing himself amazed, that their Excellencies should favour those whom France and the Low Countries had delivered up, and all other nations had abandoned. An account of this business being sent to Bern, was imparted by Mr. Treasurer Steiger, to our true friend Mr. John-Henry Humelius, with advice to inform me forthwith of what was doing. In the mean time Roux made it his business wheresoever he came, to endeavour by aspersions to render us odious, and to justify those who had killed Mr. Lisle at Laufanna; affirming they had been most liberally rewarded both in England and France, and that the King of England wanted not means to gratify all those who should do him service. Of this I had certain and speedy information by divers persons, who at several times had heard these and the like discourses from Roux: which I may not let pass without observing, that what he said concerning those who murdered Mr. Lisle, was so far from being true, that one of them died not long after he had committed that villany, in extreme want, at a mean lodging in Westminster; and the other, though advanced to be a Captain in France, complained of the ingratitude of those who had employed them; protesting they had never received any other reward than 300 pistoles from the Duchess of Orleans, of which 200 had been

spent in laying the design, and waiting an occasion of putting it in execution.

Roux having informed himself as well as he could of things in these parts, addressed himself to some of the government of Zurich, pretending to be sent from the King of England with a commission to propose, that the four Protestant cantons would enter into the alliance lately made by the King of England, the States of Holland, and the crown of Sweden, for securing the peace between the Kings of Spain and France. Which proposition being communicated to the council, they having been informed concerning the pretended agent, and the condition annexed to his business, "That their Excellencies of Bern should abandon the English," refused him audience, under pretext that he had not any letters of credence, which he would have persuaded them he had left at a place in Burgundy called St. Claud. Having met with this cold reception at Zurich, he resolved to make trial of the government of Bern; and accordingly procured one of their number to acquaint them with his propositions. But they used him more roughly, and ordered the person he had engaged to inform them of his business, to let him know, That they approved neither of his person nor of his propositions, and that he might return by the same way he came. Yet all this was not enough to check the impudence of this fellow. For upon the return of Col. Weis from Geneva, (who had left the differences between that State and the Duke of Savoy in a fair way of accommodation), he attacked him again, in hopes by his means to procure some interest at Bern; protesting, that the

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King of England had a great desire to enter into a more particular alliance with that canton than any other, provided they would deliver those who had adjudged his Father to death into his hands, or at least withdraw the protection they had granted to them; tempting him with assurances, that whoever should carry the news of their concurrence to the King, should receive 50,000 crowns for a gratuity. To which the Colonel made answer with more than ordinary indignation, That he could not think of the proposition without horror; that it was derogatory to the honour of their Excellencies; and that it was not the custom of the Swiss, to betray those who had put themselves under their protection. This attempt was seconded by a letter pretended to be written from the court of England, by one who would be thought a great friend to the Swiss interest, dated in August 1668, and addressed to one of the Syndics of Geneva, in order to be communicated to the Governors of Bern. Having obtained a sight of this paper, I found in it the following words.

“ You are desired to give immediate notice to  
“ the Lords of Bern, That their enemies have  
“ endeavoured to persuade his Majesty, that  
“ they have neither the respect nor affection for  
“ his person that he might justly expect from  
“ them; that they have not only taken the  
“ murderers of the late King into their protection,  
“ but have publicly honoured them with  
“ extraordinary favours. This report I have  
“ endeavoured to discredit, even in the presence  
“ of the person who killed Mr. Lisle at Lausanne;  
“ assuring his Majesty, that if any such  
“ persons were within the territories of Bern,  
“ the



“ the government was not informed of their  
 “ crimes; and that I firmly believed, if his  
 “ Majesty should desire it, they would not only  
 “ banish them, but deliver them up, as the  
 “ Hollanders had done, to receive the just pu-  
 “ nishment of so horrible a crime.”

Upon this letter, and other artifices used by our enemies, Col. Balthazar openly gave out, that this would be the last year of our residence at Vevay. But their Excellencies of Bern having perused the letter, and finding no name subscribed, concluded it to be written by some mercenary fellow, who had been hired to that purpose; and some of them did us the favour, to promise that they would endeavour to find out the authors of the contrivance. Col. Weiss also sent to inform me of the late conversation he had with Roux; and to assure us, that though he had been deluded into a good opinion of him, by the false pretences of Balthazar; yet, being sufficiently convinced of his mistake, he should be always ready to serve us to the utmost of his power; and would answer, that Gen. D'Erlach should also do the same, with as many of the senate as he could make to be our friends. These assurances were accompanied with a message from the Advoyer, by one Capt. Bartholomeo Turene, who had been an active officer in the defence of his countrymen of the vallies of Piedmont, against the tyranny of the Duke of Savoy. The contents of this message were to let us know, that though we might have some enemies, yet we had many more friends at Bern; promising to continue his care of us, and to do his best to defeat the designs of our enemies.

About the same time, Mr. Treasurer Steiger  
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coming to Vevay about the public affairs, made us another visit, and did us the honour to dine at our quarters, accompanied by the Bailiff of the town, and other principal persons of the country. In this conversation he informed us, That when application was made to their Excellencies, that they would appoint some persons to treat with Roux, or at least give him an audience, he had taken the liberty to say in the council, That though there were no ground to suspect him of ill designs, as there was but too much, and that the King of England should send to them, with all the ceremony and forms requisite, to desire them to withdraw their protection from us, he could never prevail with himself to give his consent to such a resolution; because the protection having been granted after serious deliberation, and the English Gentlemen having done nothing to forfeit their Excellencies favour, it ought, in his opinion, to be esteemed sacred. He told us, That the person who had moved the council to take Roux's business into consideration, had been publicly reprimanded for his forwardness in that matter; and that their Excellencies had refused to receive an agent from the King of England to reside among them; returning for answer, That they had no business with that King for the present; but if at any time they should have affairs to treat with him, they would address themselves by their own ministers.

Roux having met with the repulses above mentioned, and receiving information from the Bailiff of Nyon, that Mons. Gabriel de Diesbach, at that time Bailiff of the jurisdiction of Vevay, had threatened to treat him according  
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to his merits if he should presume to come within his power, retired to St. Claud, in the free county of Burgundy; having made great complaints of the usage he had received at Bern and Zurich; boasting of his correspondences with the ministers of Sweden and Holland, as well as of his present employment from the King of England; and shewing letters from Don Diego de Castel-Rodrigo, Governor of Flanders, to the Governor of the county of Burgundy, desiring him to furnish money and whatever might be necessary to his undertaking. From hence he went to Geneva, and was there seen frequently in the company of a certain stranger, who, by the description we received of his person, we found to be the same that had been for some time at Lyons, and of whom I had an account by the Swiss merchant of Friburg. After a short stay at Geneva, he returned to St. Claud; and appearing in better equipage than he had formerly done, he sent one of his companions to the Bailiff of Nyon, to inform him, That having received fresh instructions from the King of England, he had propositions to make to their Excellencies of Bern, which would be of great advantage to their republic, particularly in the way of trade; desiring leave to be admitted to impart the heads of his negotiation to him. The Bailiff, who had been sufficiently informed touching his person and designs, soon dismissed his messenger with this answer, That being abundantly satisfied his principal errand was to attempt something against those English Gentlemen whom their Excellencies had taken into their protection, and were resolved to defend, he would have nothing to do with him. But this

this proving not sufficient to oblige him to desist, he sent his messenger a second time to the Bailiff, to propose that he would surrender himself into the hands of the government of Bern for caution, that he intended no mischief to our persons; but indeed confessed, That being charged by the King of England with propositions to those of Bern, tending highly to their advantage, he should not consult the honour of his master, by treating with them, whilst his most dangerous and avowed enemies were openly protected in their territories. Which being in effect the same with what he had said before, the Bailiff contented himself to return the same answer; and immediately dispatched his son-in-law to give me notice of what had passed, and to advise me, though there seemed to be little probability of his daring to attempt us openly, and that Balthazar would not be thought to correspond with him, yet that we would be upon our guard against the private designs of both.

In the mean time Mons. Mouliere, who was then resident for the King of France in Switzerland, having received information from some persons (as I think I have reason to believe) that wished well to us, That this Roux, though a native of France, had solicited the cantons to enter into measures prejudicial to that King's interest, he presently dispatched advice of what he had heard to the court. Upon which orders were given to one Mons. Martel, who had served under the Marshal Turenne, to surprise and seize him. Martel having traversed the country for some months, before he could find an opportunity to compass his design, at last fell acquainted with, and easily corrupted a priest of  
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St. Claud, who was a great confident of Roux; procuring him to send a messenger to Balthazar's house, where Roux then was, with a letter to invite him to the house of another priest at Rouffaire, on the frontier of Burgundy; where he promised a great regale should be provided for his entertainment. Roux would by no means disappoint his friend, the priest; and therefore, attended only by one servant, and the priest's man, he set forward in the morning, that he might reach the place of appointment in convenient time. But Martel with his party having placed themselves in the way by which he was to pass, as soon as he saw him approaching, rode up to him, and seized him. Roux's servant made his escape, and left his master to shift for himself. But the priest's man, who was ignorant of the design, supposing them to be robbers, made what resistance he could, and received a shot in the shoulder, of which he died in a few days at Nyon. Roux being thus seized, Martel ordered his hands to be tied to the pommel of the saddle, and his feet under the horse's belly, and in this posture carried him off. As they passed by the abbey of Beaumont, which is situated within the territories of Bern, he began to call for aid; but a handkerchief being presently put into his mouth, his voice was not heard. In three days they arrived at Lyons, and secured their prisoner in the castle of Pierre en Scize; where, after he had remained some days, he was transported to Paris, and imprisoned in the Bastile.

For this service the King of France rewarded Mons. Martel with 1000 pistoles in money, and a promise of the first company that should be vacant



cant in his guards. The second person in this party received 600 pistoles, and a promise of a foot-company. The rest had fifty pistoles a man, and assurances of preferment according to their capacity. During the confinement of Roux, Mons. De Lyonne, Secretary of State, went frequently to him in the prison; but though it had been reported, that he had contributed much to the making of the league called the *triple alliance*, yet he could draw nothing from him concerning any negotiations in which it was said he had been concerned. Only he told him, That he had things of great importance to discover, which he resolved not to communicate to any person but the King. In the mean time, despairing of life, and dreading the punishment of the wheel with which he had been threatened, he gave himself a wound in the small guts with a knife he had procured from one of his keepers; hoping by that means, and an obstinate refraining from eating, he might put an end to his fears. On the 21st of June, finding himself very weak, and as he thought almost ready to expire, he sent to acquaint Mons. De Lyonne with his condition, and to let him know that he had hesitated too long. Upon this the Secretary went immediately to the King; and having informed him of the message he had received from Roux, the King sent one of his physicians to him; who returning with all possible expedition, and representing the danger he was in, a letter was immediately drawn by Mons. Colbert, signed by the King, and directed to the Lieutenant-Criminal, to proceed without delay to his trial. Being brought before his judges, the witnesses deposed, That he had said, there were

thirty Ravaillac's in France, which the King should find before the next August; with other things tending to prove that he had engaged in designs against the King's person. But he denied all; and refused, as before, to make any discovery of the things he knew, unless to the King himself. He was condemned upon the evidence to be broken alive on the wheel, and afterwards to be thrown into the common shore, for endeavouring to kill himself in the prison. Which sentence was ordered to be put in execution at the end of the Pont Neuf; but, by reason of his weakness, it was performed before the prison of the Chastellet, whither he had been removed from the Bastile. This Roux, alias Fontcovert and St. Marcelle, was a native of Nîmes in the province of Languedoc, and had been a spy for the court in the time of Cardinal Mazarin; for which service he had been rewarded with a patent for licensing stage-coaches and other public carriages in the said province. But the Cardinal upon some information having suppressed that grant, and removed his brother from another employment, he became so discontented, that he quitted the kingdom, and procured himself to be naturalized in Holland. During his imprisonment, Spain, Holland, and Switzerland, demanded him of the King of France; the first, because he was employed in their service; the Hollander for the same reason, and on account of his naturalization; the Swiss, only to lay claim to their right, he having been seized within their jurisdiction. But the court of England was by this time become so entirely French, that they said not one word in his behalf.

Our friends at Bern, according to their accustomed

stom'd vigilance, gave us notice, that a certain Englishman, going by the name of Thomas Schugar, had applied himself to some of the magistrates, to procure them to recommend him to teach the mathematics in that place; pretending to have been converted first from Popery to Lutheranism, and then from that to Calvinism; acknowledging, that he had been a priest and a servant to the Queen-mother of England, and that he had been in arms for the late King to the year 1646; at which time, upon the dissipation of that party, he had transported himself beyond the seas, and continued abroad till the year 1660. They described him to be of low stature, ill looks, speaking seven or eight languages; and that he was very inquisitive after the English Gentlemen who had put themselves under their Excellencies protection. This person, under pretext that he could find no employment at Bern, came to Vevay, and used all means possible to become acquainted with some of our company; denying to them, that he had ever been either a Papist, priest, or servant to the Queen-mother. But being told that we had too good information from Bern to doubt of that matter, he finding himself suspected, and therefore not likely to succeed in his designs, departed from Vevay the next morning after this discourse. We understood afterwards, that, passing by Augsburg, he had been entertained for eight or ten days at the house of Mr. Oliver St. John's, who had been formerly Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in England; and that having gotten the name of the person by whose means he received his letters, he had procured his correspondence to be interrupted:

which caused us to suspect, that he had found means to serve us in the like manner, our intercourse with England being for some months wholly cut off, till we had taken new measures to renew it.

About this time, Henrietta Maria, Queen-mother of England, and aunt to the present King of France, having been formerly an active instrument in contriving and fomenting the long and bloody civil war in England, and encouraging the barbarous massacre of the Protestants in Ireland; and more lately, from a spirit of revenge and malice, a principal adviser of the cruelties acted in England upon the alteration of the government, died at Paris. Her distemper at first seemed not to be dangerous; but upon taking something prescribed by the physicians to procure sleep, the potion operated in such a manner that she waked no more. She received 60,000 l. yearly from England, and yet left many and great debts unpaid. She was our particular enemy, and had constantly favoured the designs that had been carried on against our lives.

The parliament in England, having been prorogued for about eighteen months, met on the 20th of October; and the house of Commons being sent for to the Lords house, after the King had acquainted them with his joy to see them again after so long absence, he desired they would consider his debts; and exhorted both houses to union. Which last admonition was thought to arise from a pamphlet that had been published by the Lord Hollis, touching the case of one Mr. Skinner, a merchant of London, against the East-India company; in which dis-  
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course he seemed to outdo the highest of all those who had ever written for the privileges of the Lords. This was a strange reverse of the medal; especially to those who knew, that when he was a member of the house of Commons, he had so far despised the privileges of the Lords, that, at a conference between the two houses, in which the Lords shewed themselves unwilling to comply with the Commons, he had openly said, That if they persisted to refuse their concurrence, the Commons would do the thing in dispute without them. However, one of the members of the house of Commons answered Hollis's pamphlet with such force and sharpness, that, upon debate, they came to three resolutions to this effect; That divers things affirmed in his book were false and scandalous; That from this time the Lords shall never originally intermeddle with the cause of any Commoner; and, That what the Lords have done in the business of Mr. Skinner, shall be razed out of their books. These votes being carried to the Lords for their approbation, they returned for answer, That they would shortly send them a bill touching this matter.

The King of France, having resolved to visit his late acquisitions in the Low Countries, put himself at the head of a great body of troops to that purpose. Of which the States of Holland having received information, and that the Duchess of Orleans would accompany the King to the sea-coast, and then pass over to meet her brother at Dover, they began not only to dislike the personal neighbourhood of the King of France, but vehemently to suspect that this interview was designed to unite the two Kings against



gainst them. And that they might not be wanting to themselves in this conjuncture, they immediately dispatched an Ambassador to compliment the King of France in his progress; and sent the Heer Van Beuningen into England, to endeavour to dissipate the clouds that threatened from that side. The court of France, who were not ignorant of the designs carried on by the King of England to subvert the laws and liberties of the English nation, and well understood how much the establishment of an arbitrary power in the crown would contribute to weaken that force which had been so formidable under a free government, had instructed the Duchess of Orleans, not only to offer money to her brother, in case the usual way of supplying his luxury by parliamentary aids should fail; but also to give him assurances of whatever number of forces he should judge requisite to render the monarchy absolute and uncontroulled. To these she herself had added another argument to be proposed, no less prevalent where it was to be applied than the former. For she had in her train one Mrs. Queroualle, of a family in Low Britany, who, besides her French education and carriage, was young, and had passed in France for a great beauty. With such baits the monarch was easily taken; and, for this tinsel ware, was contented to barter the affections and good of the people, together with the quiet of almost all Europe. Puffed up with this success, the Duchess returns to Paris, and found such a reception from the King as so great services seemed to deserve. But her husband, the Duke of Orleans, either upon suspicion of her too great familiarity with her brother, or of some other gallantry,

gallantry, to which she was not a little inclined, did not shew himself so well contented with her negotiation. However it was, she being at St. Cloud, a palace belonging to the Duke, few weeks after her return having taken a glass of limonade, or other cooling liquor, was suddenly seized with such violent convulsions, that she died at two of the clock the next morning.

The death of the Duchess of Orleans being signified to the King her brother, he at first seemed to be highly dissatisfied with the conduct of her husband, and full of suspicion that she had been used in a manner not uncommon among princes. But having resolved that nothing should disturb the measures lately taken between the two courts, he soon cooled, and sent the Duke of Buckingham with the character of his Ambassador to the court of France, in appearance to condole with them for the death of the Duchess; but indeed to confirm the late agreement made at Dover, and to concert the methods of pursuing their design. The Duke was received with all possible demonstrations of esteem and favour. The forces about Paris were exercised in his presence; balls and comedies were prepared to divert him; the King gave him divers rich presents, and made a public feast on the day of St. Louis, principally on his account. Soon after his arrival, things began to proceed vigorously. A great sum of money was sent into England; the French army was ordered to break up, and to march towards the new conquests; draught-horses were bought, and dispatched to them with all expedition; and no man doubted any longer either of the league between France and England, or of their intentions.

tions to employ their joint forces against the commonwealth of Holland. The Dutch Ambassador at Paris was so alarmed with this news, that he went in great haste to Mons. De Lyonne, and desired to be informed whether the French army were to be employed against his masters. But the Secretary assured him there was no ground for any such apprehensions; and that if those troops were used in an expedition, the storm would fall far enough from their territories. And accordingly the Marshal de Crequi, at the head of about 25,000 men, entered Lorraine, seized Nancy, and all the places that lay on his way, and was within half an hour of surprising the Duke himself at Espinal. The French King pretended for the reason of this sudden invasion, that the Duke of Lorraine had, contrary to a late treaty, fortified some of his own towns; and had endeavoured, in a clandestine manner, to be admitted into the triple alliance; declaring, that he intended not to retain the duchy in his possession, but designed to put it into the hands of some other person of the Lorraine family who should be more worthy. In the mean time, the Marshal de Crequi having driven the Duke out of his territories, published an order, forbidding his subjects to yield him obedience; commanding those who had been in arms for him to quit his service, and to put themselves into that of the King; and requiring all orders of men in that country to do homage, and swear allegiance to him, under pain of death and confiscation of estate.

The Duke of Lorraine being in this manner dispossessed of his duchy, without any preceding declaration of war on the part of France,

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filled all Europe with his complaints; and dispatched a minister to the King of England to desire his good offices with the French King in this conjuncture; which he thought he had no reason to doubt, on account of the obligations he had formerly laid upon him, in offering to serve him with his person and troops during the time of his exile. But, instead of the favour expected, his minister received no other answer, than that he was sorry for what had happened, and that the present violence, like the mischiefs of a sudden inundation, must be endured at this time.

The Duke of Buckingham, after he had finished the business of his embassy, and received many extraordinary favours and presents of great value from the King of France, returned to England. Soon after which, in order to find new pretences of breaking with the Dutch, a message was sent to the English minister residing at the Hague, to demand the surrender of Cornet Joyce; who having formerly, by command of the army, seized the late King at Holmby, where he was treating with the parliament's commissioners, had, since the late revolution, withdrawn himself from the fury of his enemies, and retired with his family to Rotterdam. The pretext used by the court of England to colour this demand, was, That Joyce, being told that a shot had been lately made at the King, answered, That though that had missed, another might prove more successful: to which they added, That they had received information, that he had actually engaged himself in a design against the present government in England. By this means they hoped it would come to pass, either  
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that the States, by refusing to deliver him according to an article of the late treaty, might justly be charged with breaking the peace; or, by surrendering his person, would totally disoblige the commonwealth-party, and make them less averse to the intended war. Pursuant to his instructions, the minister of England makes his demand: and the States, perceiving the snare that was laid for them, immediately signed an order to the magistrates of Rotterdam for seizing the Cornet, and delivered it into his hands; but so contrived the matter, that the officers who were appointed to take him in custody, walked so long before his door, that he had time to go out by a back way, and by that means made his escape.

Our ancient and hearty friend Mr. Treasurer Steiger falling into a paralytical distemper, of which he soon after died, surrendered his employments into the hands of their Excellencies; and one Monsf. Velden was chosen to succeed him, who, being well informed of the many favours we had received from his predecessor, assured us, upon his first journey into our parts, that he would do us all the good offices that should be in his power, and would be as careful of our concernments as the late Treasurer had been. And here I may not omit, that one La Rue of Lyons, who had been engaged with Du Pre in his attempt to assassinate us, having some acquaintance with Monsf. Du Four, a merchant of Geneva, wrote a letter to let him know, that he had heartily repented of that action, and would be more ready to serve us for the future than he had been to take part in so base a design. He informed him also, that the Irishman  
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who had passed under the name of Riardo, and was one of the principal instruments that were employed against us by the Dukes of Orleans, had lately been at Lyons, and had told him, that if he had known how many wellwishers I had among the best of his friends, he would not have entered into any engagement against me; that he had quitted the service of the King of England on account of his ingratitude; and that he desired above all things to have my good opinion, and to keep a constant correspondence with me; that he had been with Mr. Richard Cromwel, where he had met with so good reception, that he had resolved never more to apply himself to the court, and that he would serve the honest party in England with the last drop of his blood. All which being communicated to me by Mons. Du Four, I concluded, that Riardo, if not La Rue also, designed, according to the best of his understanding, to act the devil's part, first to insnare, and then to accuse.

In the mean time Col. Balthazar, who had entertained this Riardo at his house whilst the design of our assassination was forming, and had received Roux also with the same familiarity, finding himself disappointed in the hopes he had conceived and openly published of our removal from Vevay, resolved to take new measures, and to employ artifices to persuade their Excellencies to withdraw their protection from us. To this end, he went to Commissary-General Godart, who was a member of the council of Bern; and pretending to have received letters from England, informed him, That the Ambassador of the Duke of Savoy then in that court, had offered to the commissioners appointed to treat  
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with him, That if the King of England would by his interest and other means endeavour to procure the restitution of such places as were kept from him by the canton of Bern, his master would undertake to deliver us dead or alive into his hands. The Commissary-General coming to Vevay, by order of their Excellencies, to terminate some matters in dispute between the Baron de Chasteler and his tenants, was pleased to give me an account of this business. And, upon conference, we agreed, that there was no probability of any such offers made, for many reasons, and particularly, that the Duke had refused to countenance the design against us, when he had been solicited by Riardo and others to that purpose; concluding it to be a contrivance of Balthazar to persuade the government, that the favour extended to us might prove prejudicial to the public safety. But he who had endeavoured to bring us into danger, could not without difficulty preserve himself. For the court of France, upon information that Roux, who had been executed at Paris, as I have already related, had left his papers in Balthazar's house, sent a party of between twenty or thirty horse into the Pais de Gex, who, hovering about that country for some time, put him into so great a fright, that he burnt the papers. He had at first slighted the report; but being informed by one Beauregard, his wife's brother, that some of them were the same who had assisted Monsr. Martel in seizing Roux, he made the best provision he could for his defence.

As the memory of those men whose lives have been remarkable for great and generous actions, ought to be transmitted to posterity with the  
praises

praises they have deserved, that others may be excited to the imitation of their virtues; it is as just that the names of those who have rendered themselves detestable by the baseness of their crimes, should be recorded, that men may be deterred from treading in their steps, lest they draw upon themselves the same infamy. For this reason I think it necessary to insert in this place the true names of some of those assassins who were employed by the court of England and others to take away our lives, as I received them from an English Gentleman who was well acquainted with their affairs, and who having passed some time in Italy, made me a visit at Vevay in his return to England. He assured me, that the villain who murdered Mr. Lisle by shooting him into the back, is an Irishman, and named O Croli; that the name of his companion, who waited with a fresh horse to carry him off, is Cotter, and that he is a native of the same country; that the assassin who goes under the name of Riardo, is also an Irishman, and his true name Maccarty; who having murdered one Col. Dillon, his countryman, at Paris, had been punished with death, if the Queen-mother of England had not interceeded for him, and procured his pardon, for the good services he had already done, and others that he promised to do for the time to come. Which favour that he might farther merit, he went into Holland soon after he was discharged from prison; where he attempted to assassinate one Mr. William Carr, who having been a servant to the King, had taken liberty to write some things that displeased the court, and on that account had been obliged to retire from England.

The King of France making great preparations for war, obtained a new levy of Switzers from the cantons, and procured 6000 men to be raised in England to be employed in his service. And that he might divide the strength of the empire, and render them incapable of assisting the Hollanders, when he should think fit to attack them, he sent an agent into Hungary to foment the discontents of that people, who had been invaded in their privileges, and persecuted for religion, by the influence of the Emperor's bigotted council. He caused his brother the Duke of Orleans to marry the daughter of the Elector Palatine; and on that account made many large promises to that prince, which were never performed. He tampered with divers other princes of Germany; and knowing that the Elector of Cologne had a design to seize and subvert the rights and privileges of that city, he tempted him with offers of his assistance. The court of England on their part recalled Sir William Temple from his employment in Holland, suspecting him not to favour the French interest, but rather to be zealously inclined to maintain the triple alliance, which they were resolved to break; and sent Downing to supply his place, who was a much fitter instrument to carry on the designs they had on foot. And, since my subject has led me to speak of this Gentleman, I must here acknowledge, that though Downing had acted contrary to his faith, former pretences and obligations, in betraying our friends, as I mentioned before; yet none of those who remained in Holland, or afterwards retired thither, were ever molested during his ministry; which was as much as could reasonably be expected

pected from a person in his post. - To this was added an attempt, which, for the singularity of the thing, deserves to be remembered. For upon notice that a considerable number of Dutch men of war were riding in the channel, the King, to procure by any means some pretences for the intended war, gave orders to the commander of a yacht to pass through the fleet, and to oblige the Admiral to take down his flag. The Captain, pursuant to his instructions, set sail with his yacht, and encountering the whole Dutch fleet, who would not be brought to take down the flag, falls upon them, and fired on all sides till his powder and ball was quite spent. But the Dutch, well understanding the design of this insult, chose rather to suffer patiently the tearing of their tackle, than to return one shot. Thus they endeavoured by all means to keep fair weather with their neighbours. And that they might prevent the city of Cologne from falling into the hands of those who might make use of it to their prejudice, they treated with the magistrates of that place; and finding them disposed to receive their assistance, they sent them a regiment of foot commanded by Col. Bampfield.

The canton of Bern having raised 2400 men for the service of the King of France in twelve companies, proceeded to nominate the officers that were to command ten of them, leaving to that King the nomination of officers for the other two, according to the agreement made between them. They stipulated in their treaty, That none of their forces should be employed against any people of the reformed religion: which condition was readily accepted by the



King of France; who knew, that if he should break with the King of Spain or the Emperor, he might use the Protestant Switzers against them, whilst those that were furnished by the Popish cantons, should be employed against the Dutch. This contract with France was made without consulting the other cantons, and at a lower rate than had been settled by the last treaty with that crown. On which last account chiefly some members of this union shewed themselves much disgusted. But, upon the whole matter, though I have heard many arguments brought to justify the way used by the Switzers for keeping their people continually exercised to arms, yet it were to be wished, that some means might be found to cause this traffic to cease, and to persuade those who have authority, to examine the justice of every cause in which they engage, and not to suffer their subjects to make a trade of war. The King of France was much displeased with the government of Zurich, for refusing to permit any levies of men to be made among them at this time. But he sent letters of thanks to those of Bern for their ready compliance with his demands; confirming what had been promised on his part, and offering, as they had desired, his mediation to compose the differences between them and the Bishop of Basle, with assurances of his assistance to constrain the Bishop to accept reasonable conditions. He promised to maintain them in possession of the Pais de Veaux, and to pay all the arrears of pensions that should appear to be due to any of them.

In the mean time, the Dutch, with the utmost diligence, prepare to send out their fleet. They nominated Michael Adrian de Ruyter to  
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be their Admiral, and the Heer Cornelius de Wit to be commissioner for the States at sea, allowing a guard of twelve halberdiers to attend his person. They hoped to prevent the conjunction of the English and French fleets, but could not: for the English having notice that the Count D'Estrees, who commanded the French, was arrived with his ships at the Isle of Wight, found means to join them in that road; yet not without the loss of one of their frigats, which carried 38 guns, and was taken by the Zelandia almost without resistance, the seamen being generally unwilling to be employed in this war. On the 7th of June 1672, the two fleets engaged near Solebay, the French squadron against Adm. Bankart; the English blue squadron, commanded by the Earl of Sandwich, against the Heer Van Ghent, Admiral of Amsterdam; and the red squadron, commanded by the Duke of York, against the Dutch Admiral de Ruyter. The fight was bloody, and continued from eight in the morning to sun-set. The French behaved themselves as if they desired to be spectators rather than actors in this tragedy. The Duke of York was obliged to shift his ship, either because she was disabled, or the better to provide for his own safety. But the greatest loss fell upon the blue squadron; the Admiral of which was burnt by a Dutch fire-ship, the Earl of Sandwich drowned, many volunteers and officers killed, with a great number of private seamen. On the Dutch side, the Admiral of Amsterdam, the Vice-Admiral of Zealand, and Capt. Brakel, were killed. Three of De Wit's guards were shot by his side, and a fourth lost both his legs by a cannon-ball. Af-

ter this fight, the French set sail for Brest; and the English retired into port, leaving the Dutch masters at sea for that time.

The States of Holland, well knowing that the alliance between the English court and the King of France was not at all pleasing to the people of England, published a declaration, to shew that they had been constrained to make war against the King and his privy council, who had designed and endeavoured to deprive them of their commerce and liberty, and to render the crown of England absolute and independent; but that they were ready to consent, that the people of England might trade freely either with them or others. They discharged and set at liberty such ships, men and merchandize, belonging to the English nation, as they had seized in their ports, in requital of the attempt made by the court of England to surprise their homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, before any declaration of war had been published against them. These things obliged the King to promise restitution of what had been unjustly taken from the Dutch before the date of the said declaration. But whatever advantages the Dutch might have by sea, they were infinitely over-balanced by their losses at land.

The King of France having drawn together 120,000 effective men, divided them into three bodies. The first, consisting of 70,000, he took under his own peculiar command. At the head of the second, which was of 40,000, he placed the Prince of Conde; and gave about 10,000 men more to the Count of Chamilly, to serve as a flying camp. All these forces directing their march towards Maestricht, a council  
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of war was held in the King's quarters; and a debate arising about besieging that place, it was adjudged to be an enterprize so full of hazard and difficulty, by reason of the numerous garrison and good fortifications about the town, that they resolved to turn their march towards the Rhine, where the places were not in so good condition. Yet it was thought convenient to leave Chamilly near Tongeren, to prevent the excursions of the garrison of Maestricht; which was done. The two armies commanded by the King and Prince of Conde marched several days without seeing an enemy, except only about 200 men, who had intrenched themselves on the side of the Rhine, and rendered themselves prisoners after little resistance. From thence the Prince of Conde was sent to besiege Wesel; whilst the King besieged Orsoy, and the Marshal Turenne Burick. These three sieges being undertaken at the same time, caused a general alarm. But when they saw that Orsoy had hardly held out twenty four hours, and that Burick and Wesel had been surrendered in little more than the same time, the consternation greatly increased. The Governor of Wesel, which was accounted a strong place, was sentenced to lose his head; but having some friends about the Prince of Orange, the executioner was ordered only to pass the sword over him. The Count D'Estades was, in consideration of his services and particular correspondences in Holland, made Governor of this place. Reez, Emerik, Beavize, and Dedekom, followed the example: and an Irishman, who commanded at Rhinberg, finding himself besieged by the King of France, was so frightened, that he delivered

delivered the town without a shot; and was afterwards beheaded for his cowardice. The King designing to pass the Yffel, in order to attack the places on the other side of that river, communicated his design to the Prince of Conde, and to the Marshal de Turenne; who having dissuaded him from the attempt as too dangerous, it was resolved to try to pass the Rhine, which they thought more practicable. In pursuance of this resolution, they procured the best advice they could get; and were informed by a betrayer of his country, that there was a place where the water was low, and the passage safe: which being tried, and found to be according to the information, the King expressed more than ordinary satisfaction, because he could as well enter the country that way as by the Yffel, and fall upon the enemy's rear. The Dutch suspecting this place, had already sent an officer to secure the passage; but he finding himself too weak, abandoned the post with the approbation of the States Deputies; and Lt-Gen. Wurtz was sent by the Prince of Orange with a greater force. By this means much time was lost, and the King of France had leisure to erect batteries; which galled the horse of Wurtz in such a manner, that they found themselves obliged to shelter in the woods. All things being prepared by the French, part of a regiment of horse passed the river, and were received so warmly by Wurtz, that they were forced back into the water: but being seconded by more of their companions, they soon became strong enough to make good their ground, and to put the Dutch horse to flight. However, in this passage, the Duke of Longueville, nephew to the



the Prince of Conde, was killed, and the Prince himself wounded in the wrist by a musket-ball. After this the French took the castle of Tolhuys, and laid a bridge of boats over the Rhine; which so terrified the Dutch, that they abandoned all their intrenchments: so that the King, who had designed to attack them, finding that work over, repassed the river, and sent the Marshal Turenne to command the Prince of Conde's army during his absence. Then the King resolved to pass the Yssel; and was not a little surprised to find the passage so easy, and quite otherwise than had been represented to him. Having besieged and taken Doesburg, Deputies arrived in his camp from Utrecht, offering to deliver the town and dependencies. The Duke of Orleans took Zutphen in Gelderland; and the King himself advanced to Utrecht, having sent a Lieutenant-General with some troops to take possession before. Here he received the Dutch Ambassadors, who were sent by the States to know upon what terms he would treat. In the mean time, the Marshal Turenne possessed himself of Arnheim, the fort of Knotsemburg, and Nimeguen; which last place was better defended than any other had been. Upon this news the Dutch abandoned Graven, which Turenne seized. Bommel and the Sckinken Scans fell also into the hands of the French; the Bishop of Munster took Grol and Deventer; and the Marquis de Rochefort made himself master of Naerden, and some other places.

This astonishing success attending the French in every attempt, drove the common people of Holland into rage and despair. Disasters came so thick upon them, that they could not discern  
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the inequality of their forces, when compared to the united strength of France and England. They would not reflect upon the natural impetuosity of the French nation, or the suddenness of the invasion; but, in spite to common sense, would needs believe that men of republican principles had conspired to betray the commonwealth to one or both of the confederated monarchs. And though I am not concerned to defend those who at that time had the principal part in the administration of affairs in Holland; yet the King of England himself shall be their compurgator, not only on his own account, but also in respect of his brother of France. His *Letter written by K. Ch. II.* words are these. “The insolencies  
 “and continual contrivances against  
 “me, of certain persons, who for some time  
 “past have had the principal direction of affairs  
 “in the government of the United Netherlands,  
 “have necessitated me to make an alliance with  
 “the Most Christian King, who also has the  
 “same grounds of complaint against them, having  
 “no other end, than to suppress the insupportable  
 “greatness of the Louvestein faction; and to secure  
 “ourselves from the like insults and affronts for the time to come, &c.”  
 But the people being deaf to all reason, things every where tended to sedition and tumult; divers of the clergy, particularly one Lantman at the Hague, and Borstius at Rotterdam, exciting the populace, both by printing and preaching, against their governors. In this unhappy state of affairs it fell out, that, on the 20th of June 1672, the Pensionary John de Wit coming out of the council in the Hague at eleven o’clock at night, accompanied only by one servant who carried

carried a torch in his hand, was assaulted by four persons, wounded, and left for dead. The next day one of these assassins, by name Jacob Vander-Graef, was seized, tried, condemned, and in a few days executed; the States of Holland judging this expedition to be absolutely necessary for the security of their own persons in the exercise of their employments. On the 24th of July in the same year, Cornelius de Wit, ancient Burgomaster of Dort, Grand Bailie of Putten, and elder brother to the Pensionary, was brought prisoner to the Hague, upon the accusation of one Tichelaar a barber-surgeon, who deposed, That the prisoner would have hired him to poison the Prince of Orange. He was several times put to the rack, and constantly asserted his innocence: yet he was sentenced to lose his offices and dignities, and to be banished for ever from Holland and West-Friesland. This sentence being published, caused men to murmur, as their passions variously inclined them. Some said, that if he were guilty, the punishment was too little; and if innocent, too much: others said, that he was certainly guilty, because his judges had set the accuser at liberty. Tichelaar in the mean time went about the Hague, and told the people that he had convicted the Grand Bailie; which suggestion brought great numbers of them about the prison-doors. In the mean time his brother John de Wit came in his coach to take him out of the prison. Upon which one of the populace cried out, "That now the two traitors were together, they should not escape." In this instant a false report was spread among the people, that some thousands of boors were coming to plunder the Hague; by which means the

two brothers were deprived of all hopes of safety: for, upon this report, the guards that had been placed by the council of state about the prison for the defence of the prisoner, took occasion to draw off, and left them to the mercy of the rabble; who, growing impatient of any farther delay, immediately broke open the doors of the prison, and divers of them rushed into the chamber where the two brothers were. John de Wit, who was sitting on the bed-side with a book in his hand, demanded of them what they would have; and receiving for answer, that they should see if they would go down; he took his brother by the hand, and led him down to the street; where they were no sooner arrived, but the enraged multitude fell upon them, and with a thousand wounds most barbarously murdered them. The particulars of this cruelty are so abominable, and so exceeding all example, that I purposely omit any farther mention of this tragical story.

The King of France, in pursuance of the agreement he had made with the canton of Bern, procured the differences between them and the Bishop of Basle to be adjusted according to their Excellencies desire. But that part of the treaty by which he had promised not to employ their subjects against any of the reformed religion, was not so well observed; for he had used them in the war against the States of Holland, and obliged them to serve on all occasions without distinction, contrary to his promise, and to the oath that both officers and soldiers had taken before their departure from Switzerland. This usage the Swiss officers and soldiers resenting, deputed one Monsr. de Beur, an officer of their  
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body, to acquaint their Excellencies, that they had been constrained against their inclinations to do what they had done. Of which the French having notice, they caused him to be seized at Metz, where he was put into a dungeon. And though, upon the solicitation of his friends in Switzerland, their Excellencies desired his liberty, they could not for some time obtain any more than a better accommodation for him in the prison; the late successes of France having carried that court to such a height, that they caused a letter to be written by Mons<sup>r</sup>. Stuppa to the canton of Bern, to let them know, that the King accounted himself little obliged to them for the men they had raised under pretence of serving him; and that he was better satisfied with the refusal of the canton of Zurich, than with their grant, which was accompanied with such restrictions and regret. The government of Bern finding their affairs with France to be in this uncertain condition, were doubtful what measures to take in the dispute which had been on foot for some time, and still continued, between the Duke of Savoy and those of Geneva, on account of a fort which had been built by the Duke within half a league of that city, under colour of a magazine for the vessels he had built, and to secure a port for their use; positively requiring all those of Geneva who possessed lands within the jurisdiction of Savoy, to hear mass on pain of forfeiture. However, the Protestant cantons having seriously considered the importance of this affair, sent to the Duke of Savoy to demand, Whether he would have peace or war? and whether he would in all things make good the treaties that had been concluded with them



by his ancestors, or not? But before the Duke had determined what answer to give to this message, an accident happened, which served to secure those of Geneva from any apprehensions from Savoy at that time. For the Duke of Savoy having corrupted the Governor of Savona, (which belongs to the republic of Genoa), and received his promise to put him into possession of the place, had raised forces, and ordered them to march thither. But the officers not agreeing, either concerning the manner, or the time of putting the enterprize in execution, it was so long delayed, that the government of Genoa had notice of their march; and suspecting their design, immediately removed the Governor, and changed the garrison. The Duke finding his project defeated, was yet unwilling to have it believed that he designed any clandestine attempt, (for no sort of men will avow an unsuccessful treachery); and therefore he published a declaration of the reasons that moved him to make war against Genoa; which were so slight and trivial, that it plainly appeared he rather sought to cover his design upon Savona, than that he had any just cause of quarrel to pretend; it being notorious to all persons concerned, that the Duke had received offers of satisfaction to the utmost of what he could demand. In consequence of the declaration, his forces possessed themselves of Pieve, a place belonging to the Genoefes, but of no great strength or importance. On the other side, the government of Genoa sent to complain to the King of France, That, contrary to the agreement which he by his agent had made between the Duke of Savoy and them, the Duke's forces had attacked them

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in a hostile manner. But yet they omitted not, at the same time, to draw together what force they could to do themselves right, if other means should fail. The Duke's army finding Pieve not to be tenible, quitted the place, and marched to Castle-Vecchio, with intention to fortify it by reason of its advantageous situation. But the Genoefes well knowing the importance of Castle-Vecchio, drew together about 9000 men and seized all the avenues, before the Savoyards had made any provision for their subsistence. So that the Governor, with about 300 officers and soldiers, found no other way to prevent falling into the hands of the enemy, but by withdrawing privately, which they effected, leaving the rest to shift for themselves; and the next day the Genoefes possessed themselves of the place, killing and taking prisoners all those that were within. From thence they went to Oneglia, resolving to storm the town by sea and land; but the Savoyards prevented them, and capitulated to leave both officers and soldiers to be prisoners of war. In these actions, the Marquis of Parella, with many of the principal Nobility, were taken, and carried prisoners to Genoa: which, with some other successes obtained by that commonwealth against the Duke of Savoy, obliged him to entertain cooler thoughts than he had done, and to hasten his answer to the demands of the Protestant cantons; in which he professed, he would have no difference with them, being sincerely desirous of their friendship; that indeed he had been much surprised they should take any umbrage on account of a house he had built in his own territories, and interest themselves in the differences which had

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happened

happened between him and those of Geneva, who, he said, had broken the treaty of St. Julian ; which yet, for their Excellencies sake, he would observe, as if it were still in full force.

A COLLECTION of LETTERS and other PAPERS relating to divers important passages of the preceeding memoirs.

*The King's letters to the Queen.*

I.

15.  
Oxford, Jan. 9.

*Dear Heart,*

SInce my last, which was by Talbot, the Scots commissioners have sent to desire me to send a commission to the general assembly in Edinburgh; which I am resolved not to do, but, to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to London; and that I may have the more time for the making a handsome negative, I have demanded a passport for Philip Warwick, by whom to return my answer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that Lenthall the Speaker brags that Cardinal Mazarin keeps a strict intelligence with him; though I will not swear that Lenthall says true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for Sabran, I am confident that either he or his instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from London, that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons, (besides four Scotch commissioners), appointed to treat; and they have named Uxbridge for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised, that General Goring prospers well where he is, and since Monday last hath taken 80 of the rebels horse; and upon his advance they have quitted Peterfield and Coudry.

## P O S T S C R I P T.

*The settling of religion and the militia, are the first to be treated on: and be confident, that I will neither quit Episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into my hands.*

29.

15.

Copy to my wife, 9. Jan. 1644. By P. A.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

## II.

31.

Oxford, Sunday, 30 March.

*Dear Heart,*

**S**ince my last (which was but three days ago) there are no alterations happened of moment; preparations rather than actions being yet our chiefest business; in which we hope that we proceed faster than the rebels, whose levies both of men and money (for certain) goes on very slowly; and I believe, they are much weaker than is thought even here at Oxford. For instance, a very honest servant of mine, and no fool, shewed me a proposition from one of the most considerable London rebels, who will not let his name be known until he have hope that his proposition will take effect; it is this, That since the treaty is so broken off, that neither the rebels nor I can resume it, without, at least, a seeming total yielding to the other, the treaty should be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance, that the rebels will submit to reason. The answer that I permitted my servant to give, was, That thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so happy and glorious a work as is the peace of this kingdom; *but that upon no terms thy name was to be profaned, therefore he was to be satisfied of the rebels willingness to yield to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee; and particularly*



larly concerning religion and the militia, that nothing must be insisted upon but according to my former offers. This, I believe, will come to nothing; yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

*I must again tell thee, that most assuredly France will be the best way for transportation of the Duke of Lorrain's army; there being divers fit and safe places of landing for them upon the Western coasts, besides the ports under my obedience, as Shelfsey near Chichester, and others; of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.*

*By my next I think to tell thee when I shall march into the field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine.*

18. 31.

To my wife, 30 March 1645. By Petit.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

III.

30.

Oxford, Thursday, 27 March.

Dear Heart,

**I** Wrote to thee yesterday by Sakefield; the subject of it was only kindness to thee; which, I assure thee, shall ever be visible in all my actions. And now I come to Jermin's account, given me by thy command; which is very clear, hopeful in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry. As for the main impediment in the Duke of Lorrain's business, (which is his passage), why may thou not procure him passage through France, if that of Holland be stuck at? It will much secure and facilitate the sea-transportation in respect of landing on the Western coast; which, I believe, will be found the best,

best, there being not so many places to chuse on any where else. But this an opinion, not a direction.

The general face of my affairs methinks begins to mend; the dissensions at London rather increasing than ceasing, Montrose daily prospering, my Western business mending apace, and hopeful in all the rest. So that, if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder, (not to exclude any other), I am confident to be in a better condition this year, than I have been since this rebellion began; and possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto me. And so farewell, dear heart.

*I intend (if thou like it) to bestow Percy's place on the M. of Newcastle, to whom yet I am no ways engaged, nor will be before I have thy answer. As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Master of the Wards: for Cottington had it long ago before thou went hence; and I intended it to Secretary Nich. if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.*

*I desire thee to command Lord Jer. to read to thee the D.'s letter which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation of the Duke of Lorrain's army.*

23. 30.  
To my wife, 27 Mar. 1645. By P.A.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

MILES CORBET.

#### IV.

39.  
Oxford, Sunday, 4 May.

*Dear Heart,*

**T**HE rebels new brutish General hath refused to meddle with foreign passes; so as yet I cannot dispatch Adrian May to thee by the way of London; which

which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West. And now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy thoughts : for I thank God, my affairs begin to smile upon me again, Wales being well swept of the rebels ; Farrington having relieved itself, and now being secured by Goring's coming ; my nephews likewise having brought me a strong party of horse and foot. These quarters are so free, that I hope to be marching within three or four days, and am still confident to have the start of the rebels this year. I am likewise very hopeful, that my son will shortly be on the head of a good army ; for this I have the chearful assurance of Culpeper and Hyde. Of late I have been much pressed to make Southampton Master of my Horse, not so much for good-will to him, as out of fear that Hamilton might return to a capacity of recozening me ; wherein if I had done nothing, both jealousy and discontents were like to arise : wherefore I thought fit to put my nephew Rupert in that place ; which will both save me charge, and stop other mens grumblings. I have now no more to say ; but, praying for, and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

To my wife, 4 May 1645. By Malin St. Ravy.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

V.

13.

Oxford, 2 Jan.

*Dear Heart,*

**H**AVING decyphered thine, which I received yesterday, I was much surpris'd to find thee blame me, for neglecting to write to thee : for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee ; and I assure thee never any dispatch went from

from either of my Secretaries without one from me, when I knew of it.

“ As for my calling those at London a parliament,  
 “ I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction:  
 “ this in general ; if there had been but two, besides  
 “ myself, of my opinion, I had not done it : and the  
 “ argument that prevailed with me, was, that the cal-  
 “ ling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parlia-  
 “ ment ; upon which condition and construction I did  
 “ it, and no otherways ; and accordingly it is regi-  
 “ stred in the council-books, with the council’s una-  
 “ nimous approbation. But thou wilt find, that it  
 “ was by misfortune, not neglect, that thou hast been  
 “ no sooner advertised of it.”

As for the conclusion of thy letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know thy desire granted before it was asked ; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction, hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it. The fear of some such mischance made me the more careful to give thee a full account by Tom Elliot, of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to London ; which if it come soon enough, I am confident will free thee from much trouble. But if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou hearest the reasons of them from me, thou mayst be often subject to be doubly vexed, first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem me as thou findest me constant to those grounds thou lests me withal, and so farewell, dear heart.

21.

13.

Copy to my wife, 2 Jan. 1645. By P. A.

4.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

## VI.

21.

Oxford, 19 Feb. O. S.

*Dear Heart,*

I Cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our treaty; only the unreasonable stubbornness of the rebels, gives daily less and less hopes of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours shall hinder thee from hastening all thou mayst, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of Lorrain's; concerning which I received yesterday good news from Dr. Goffe, that the Prince of Orange will furnish shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his negotiation goes hopefully on; by which, and many other ways, I find thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their several kinds) to esteem most. But I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to do this way, what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my life. Though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyll by Montrose; who upon surprise totally routed those rebels, and killed 1500 upon the place. Yesterday I received thine of 27 Jan. by the Portugal agent; the only way (but expresses) I am confident on, either to receive letters from thee, or to send them to thee. Indeed Sabran sent me word yesterday, besides *some compliments of the imbargo of the rebels ships in France, (which I likewise put upon thy score of kindness)*; but is well enough content, that the Portugal should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the rebels, either by going to London, or disbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly: for I esteem the interest thou hast in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit, (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt us), than to put myself into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So, impatiently expecting the express thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

I



*I can now assure thee, that Hertogen the Irish agent is an arrant knave ; which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending packets.*

II.

21.

To my wife, 19 Feb. 1645. By P. A

4.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

VII.

20.

*Dear Heart,*

**T**HE expectation of an exprefs from thee (as I find by thine of the 4 Febr.) is very good news to me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our treaty, there is every day less hopes than other, that it will produce a peace. But I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return. For I avow, that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within my self. The limited days for treating are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one article. Wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And I assure thee, that thou *needst not doubt the issue of this treaty ; for my commissioners are so well chosen, (though I say it), that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them ; which (upon my word) is according to the little note thou so well remembers.* And in this not only their obedience, but *their judgments concur.* I confess in some respects thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to London : for indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way than was fit ; of which persuasion Percy is one of the chief, who is shortly like to see thee ; of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted  
or

et believed by thee concerning our proceedings here. In short, there is little or no appearance but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament. But, as thou loves me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine.

C. R.

<sup>15.</sup> <sup>4.</sup>  
Oxford, 25 Feb. 1645.

<sup>3.</sup> <sup>20.</sup>  
To my wife, 15 Feb. 1645. By P. A.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

VIII.

22.

Dear Heart,

**N**OW is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty. But I am still confident, that I shall find very good effects of it: for besides that my commissioners have offered, to say no more, full-measured reason, and the rebels have stuck rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them; we have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the world, that the English rebels (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots; which (besides the reflexion it will have upon these rebels) will clearly shew, that reformation of the church is not the chief, much less the

only end of the Scots rebellion. But it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use *all lawful means to maintain it*, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, than hitherto thou hast had. It is, that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit), that, I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as, by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance; I answer, That when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserves to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this business requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee; for it is no thanks to me to trust to thee in any thing else but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us; and yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this: I trusting thee (though it concern religion) as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it. I have so fully intrusted this bearer Pooly, that I will not say more to thee now; but that herewith I send thee a new cypher, (assuring thee that none hath, or shall have any copy of it but my self), to the end thou mayst use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me; and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

20.

23.

To my wife, the 5 March 1645. By Pooly.

4.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

IX.

## IX.

The little that is here in cypher, is in that which I sent to thee by Pooly.

33.  
Oxford, Wed. 9 April. 1645.

Dear Heart,

**T**Hough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow messenger, yet all occasions of this (which is now the only) way of conversing with thee, are so welcome to me as I shall be loth to lose any; but expect neither news or public business from me, by this way of conveyance; yet, judging thee by my self, even these nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I should chide thee; which if I could I would do, for thy too sudden taking alarms. I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is inseparably conjoined with thine, must not all my actions tend to serve and please thee? *If thou knew what a life I lead (I speak not in respect of the common distractions) even in point of conversation, which, in my mind, is the chief joy or vexation of one's life, I dare say thou would pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish; some too busy, others too reserved; many fantastic. In a word, when I know none better, (I speak not now in relation to business), then 3 9 8. 270. 55: 5: 7: 67: 18. 294: 35: 69: 16: 54: 6: 38: 1: 67: 68: 9: 66: thou may easily judge how my conversation pleaseth me.* I confess thy company hath perhaps made me in this hard to be pleased, but not less to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this disease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort me as often as thou can with thy letters; and dost not thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou spendest the time, are pleasing subjects unto me, though thou hast no other business to write of? Believe me, sweet heart, thy kindness is as necessary to comfort my heart, as thy assistance is for my affairs.

To my wife, 9 April, 1645. By Binion.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

## X.

Oxford, Thursday, 20 March.

*Dear Heart,*

**U**Pon Saturday last I wrote to thee by Sabran, (but this I believe may come as soon to thee), and I have received thine of the seventh, upon Monday last, which gave me great contentment both in present and expectation; (the quick passage being likewise a welcome circumstance); and yet I cannot but find a fault of omission in most of thy latter dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though I confess, that in this no news is good news, yet I am not so satisfied without a more perfect assurance; and I hope thou wilt, by satisfying me, confess the justness of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation, (I pray God send me a good unlading); for I look daily for some blow of importance to be given about Taunton or Shrewsbury; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from Ireland. Likewise the refractory horse (as the London rebels call them) may be reckoned in: for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me; howsoever, I doubt not, but if they stand out, (as it is probable), good use may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having sent to try their pulses. Pettit came yesterday; but he having at London thrust his dispatches into the States Ambassadors packets, I have not yet received them; and I would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good western news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within these three or four days. Only I congratulate with thee for the safe arrival of thy tinn adventure at Callis: and so farewell, sweet heart.

Thine of the 10th I have newly received; whereby I find that thou much mistakes me concerning Ir. for I desire nothing more than peace there, and never forbade thy commerce there; only I gave thee  
warning



warning of some Irish in France, whom I then thought, and now know to be knaves.

To my wife, 20 of March 164 $\frac{3}{4}$ . By P. A.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

XI.

Droit Wiche, Wednesday, 14 May.

*Dear Heart,*

**M**Arching takes away the conveniency of sending my letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at Oxford; however, I shall not fail to do what I can to send often to thee. There is so little news for the present, as I will leave that subject for others; only upon Saturday last I received a dispatch from Montrose, which assures me his condition to be so good, that he bids me be confident that his countrymen shall do me no great harm this year; and if I could lend him but 500 horse, he would undertake to bring me 20,000 men before the end of this summer. For the general state of my affairs we all here think to be very hopeful; this army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing; my son's such, that Fairfax will not be refused to be fought with; of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himself. 'Tis true, that I cannot brag for store of money, but a sharp sword always hinders starving at least; and I believe the rebels coffers are not very full, (and certainly we shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they), or they must have some greater defect, else their levies could not be so backward as they are; for I assure thee that I have at this instant many more men in the field than they. I am not very confident what their northern forces are; but except they are much stronger than I am made believe, I may likewise include them.

Now, I must make a complaint to thee of my son

Charles, which troubles me the more, that thou mayst suspect I seek, by equivocating, to hide the breach of my word; which I hate above all things, especially to thee. It is this: He hath sent to desire me, that Sir John Greenfield may be sworn Gentleman of his Bedchamber; but already so publicly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to my son, and the young Gentleman; to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his father's merits, his own hopefulness, besides the great power that family has in the west. Yet I have refused the admitting of him until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee first to chide my son for engaging himself without one of our consents; then, not to refuse thy own consent; and lastly, to believe, that, directly or indirectly, I never knew of this, while yesterday at the delivery of my son's letter. So farewell, sweet heart; and God send me good news from thee.

To my wife, May 14. 1645.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

MILES CORBET.

## XII.

*Dear Heart,*

**I** Know thy affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble to find my reputation, as my life, in danger: therefore, lest the false sound of my offering a treaty to the rebels upon base and unsafe terms should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy mind from such rumours) to tell thee the ways I have used to come to a treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better understand and approve of my ways. Then know, (as a certain truth), that all, even my party, are strangely  
impatient

impatient for peace ; which obliged me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew my real intentions to peace. *And likewise I am put in very good hope, (some hold it a certainty), that if I could come to a fair treaty, the ringleading rebels could not hinder me from a good peace : first, because their own party are most weary of the war ; and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in religion, and General against General in point of command. Upon these grounds a treaty being most desirable, (not without hope of good success), the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety. Amongst the rest, (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably councilable), the sound of my return to London was thought to have so much force of popular rhetoric in it, that upon it a treaty would be had ; or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantageous to me. Yet, lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joined conditions with the proposition, (without which this sound will signify nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace.* Then observe, if a treaty at London with commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used ; nor in case they will treat with nobody but myself : so that the conditions save any aspersion of dishonour ; and the treating at London, the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this treaty upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours : and though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any baseness ; yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thyself, this certain truth, that no danger of death, or misery, which I think much worse, shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the state of my present affairs I refer thee to 92. ; concluding, (as I did in my last to thee), by conjuring thee, as thou lovest me, that no appearance of peace, (and now I add) nor hope-  
ful

ful condition of mine, make thee neglect to haste succour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my wife, Decemb. 1644. By Tom. Elliot.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

XIII.

Oxford, 13 March, old style.

*Dear Heart,*

**W**HAT I told thee the last week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed ; and now if I do any thing unhandsome, or disadvantageous to myself or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault ; for I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the treaty, knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose. But now I promise thee, *if it be renewed, (which I believe will not without some eminent good success on my side), it shall be to my honour and advantage ; I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions, (that is to say, our mongrel parliament here), as of the chief causers : for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them ;* Wilmot being already there, Percy on his way, and Suffex within few days taking his journey to thee ; but that I know, thou carest not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniences. Yet I must tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy love to me, I might reasonably apprehend, that their repair to thee would rather prove a change, than an end of their villanies ; and I cannot deny, but my confidence in thee was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of March ; by which thou puts me in hope of assistance of men and money.

And

And it is no little expression of thy love to me, that (because of my business) festivals are troublesome to thee: *but I see that assemblies in no countries are very agreeable to thee*; and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies. And excuse me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that mere statesmen should desire to be rid of thee; therefore I desire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much, to make a personal friendship with the Queen Regent, (without shewing any distrust of her ministers, though not wholly trusting to them); and to shew her, that when her regency comes out, (and possibly before), she may have need of her friends, so that she shall but serve herself by helping of thee; and to say no more, but certainly if this rebellion had not begun to oppress me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious than she did. In the last place, I desire thee, to give me a weekly account of thy health; for I fear lest in that alone thou takest not care enough to express thy kindness to him who is eternally thine.

The northern news is rather better than what we first heard: for what by Sir Marmaduke Langdale's, and Montrose's victories, Carlisle and the rest of our northern garrisons are relieved, and we hope for this year secured; and, besides all this, the northern horse are already returned, and joined with my nephew Rupert.

To my wife, 13 March, 164 $\frac{4}{5}$ . By P. A.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

#### XIV.

Daintrey, Sunday, 8 June.

Dear Heart,

Oxford being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee, than otherwise I could have expected; which



which makes me believe that my good news will not be very stale; which in short is this. Since the taking of Leicester, my marching down hither to relieve Oxford, made the rebels raise their siege before I could come near them, having had their quarters once or twice beaten up by that garrison, and lost four hundred men at an assault before Bostol-house. At first I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as Brackley, but are since gone aside to Brick-hill; so as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be; whether by their distractions, (which are certainly very great), Fairfax and Brown having been at cudgels, and his men and Cromwel's likewise at blows together, where a Captain was slain, or wasting their men, I will not say. Besides, Goring hath given a great defeat to the western rebels; but I do not yet know the particulars. Wherefore I may (without being too much sanguine) affirm, that (since this rebellion) my affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way; though among ourselves we want not our own follies; which is needless, and, I am sure, tedious to tell thee; but such as, I am confident, shall do no harm, nor much trouble me. Yet I must tell thee, that it is thy letter by Fitzwilliams, assuring me of thy perfect recovery, with thy wonted kindness, which makes me capable of taking contentment in these good successes; *for as divers men purpose several recompences to themselves for their pains and hazard in this rebellion, so thy company is the only reward I expect and wish for.*

To my wife, 9 June, 1645.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

MILES CORBET.

XV.

*Dear Heart,*

Sunday last I received three letters from thee; one a duplicate of the 30 Decemb. another of the 6 Jan. and

and the last of the 14 Jan. ; and even now one Petit is come with a duplicate of the last ; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of me, so I must extremely wonder, that any who pretends to be a friend to our cause, (for I believe thou wouldst not mention any information from the other side), can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill offices done to me by any ; or that thy care for my assistance hath been the least suspected ; it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance : but I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more than a bare suspicion. And indeed, if I were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance, at least not giving me so often account of it as I desire ; these three last making no mention of thyself. Now, as for the treaty, (which begins this day), I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety ; of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I send thee herewith my directions to my commissioners ; but how I came to make them myself without any others, Digby will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning military as cabalistical matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things (only not answering for words) truly shew myself to be eternally thine.

The Portugal agent hath made me two propositions ; first, concerning the release of his master's brother, for which I shall have 50,000 l. if I can procure his liberty from the King of Spain ; the other is for a marriage betwixt my son Charles and his master's eldest daughter. For the first, I have freely undertaken to do what I can ; and for the other, I will *give such an answer as shall signify nothing*.

I desire thee not to give too much credit to Sabran's relations, nor much countenance to the Irish agents in Paris; the particular reasons thou shalt have by Pooley, (whom I intend for my next messenger). In the last place, I recommend to thee the care of Jersey and Guernsey; it being impossible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weak at sea.

To my wife, 30 Jan. 164 $\frac{4}{5}$ . By Legge.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

# XVI.

*Ormond,*

**T**HE impossibility of preserving my Protestant subjects in Ireland, by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you those powers and directions; which I have formerly done, for the concluding of a peace there; and the same growing daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more positive. But, besides these considerations, it being now manifest, that the English rebels have (as far as in them lies) given the command of Ireland to the Scots; that their aim is at a total subversion of religion and regal power; and that nothing less will content them, or purchase peace here; I think myself bound in conscience, not to let slip the means of settling that kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to lose that assistance which I may hope from my Irish subjects, for such scruples as in a less pressing condition, might reasonably be stuck at by me. For their satisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost; so that my Protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority preserved. But, for all this, you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not discover your enlargement of power till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work entirely

entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poining's act for such bills as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the penal laws against Papists by a law, will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain; so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my rebels of England and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour.

Copy to Ormond, 27 Febr. 1644.

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

XVII.

*To Ormond.*

Oxford, 16 Feb. 1644.

*Ormond,*

I should wrong my own service, and this Gentleman Sir Timothy Fetherston, if I did not recommend him and his business to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to Digby. And now again I cannot but mention to you the necessity of the hastening of the Irish peace, for which I hope you are already furnished by me with materials sufficient: but in case (against all expectation and reason) peace cannot be had upon those terms, you must not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the cessation according to a postscript in a letter by Jack Barry, (a copy of which dispatch I herewith send you). So I rest.

P O S T S C R I P T.

In case, upon particular mens fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order, (which I hope will prove needless), to seek to renew the cessation for a year; for which you shall promise the Irish, (if you can have it no cheaper), to joint with them against the Scots and Inchiquin: for I hope,

by that time my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept less, or I be able to grant more

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

XVIII.

*To Ormond.*

Oxford, 7 Jan. 1644.

*Ormond,*

UPON the great rumours and expectations which are now of peace, I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there.

“ The rebels here have agreed to treat: and most assuredly, one of the first and chief articles they will insist on, will be to continue the Irish war; *which is a point not popular for me to break on.* Of which you are to make a double use: first, to hasten (with all possible diligence) the peace there; the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience which otherwise I may be subject to, by the refusal of that article, upon any other reason. Secondly, by dexterous conveying to the Irish, the danger there may be of their total and perpetual exclusion from those favours I intend them, in case the rebels here clap up a peace with me, upon reasonable terms, and only exclude them; which possibly were not counselable for me to refuse, if the Irish peace should be the only difference betwixt us, before it were perfected there. These, I hope, are sufficient grounds for you to persuade the Irish diligently to dispatch a peace upon reasonable terms; assuring them, that you having once fully engaged to them my word, (in the conclusion of a peace), all the earth shall not make me break it.

“ But, not doubting of a peace, I must again remember



“ member you to press the Irish for their speedy assist-  
 “ ance to me here, and their friends in Scotland: my  
 “ intention being, to draw from thence into Wales  
 “ (the peace once concluded) as many as I can of  
 “ my armed Protestant subjects; and desire, that the I-  
 “ rish would send as great a body as they can to land  
 “ about Cumberland, which will put those northern  
 “ counties in a brave condition. Wherefore you must  
 “ take speedy order to provide all the shipping you  
 “ may, as well Dunkirk as Irish bottoms; and re-  
 “ member, that after March it will be most difficult to  
 “ transport men from Ireland to England, the rebels  
 “ being masters of the seas. So, expecting a diligent and  
 “ particular account in answer to this letter, I rest

*Your most assured constant friend,*

CHARLES R.

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

XIX.

*To Ormond,*

15 Decemb. 1644.

*Ormond,*

I Am sorry to find by Col. Barry the sad condition of  
 your particular fortune; for which *I cannot find* so good  
 and speedy remedy as the peace of Ireland, it being like-  
 wise *to redress* most necessary affairs here: wherefore I  
 command you to dispatch it out of hand; for the doing  
 of which, I hope my public dispatch will give you suffici-  
 ent instruction and power; yet I have thought it necessary,  
 for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to  
 make this addition with my own hand. As for Poin-  
 ing's act, I refer you to my other letter: and for mat-  
 ter of religion, though I have not found it fit to take  
 public notice of the paper which Brown gave you, yet

I must command you to give him, *my L. Muskerry, and Plunket*, particular thanks for it; assuring them, that without it there could have been no peace; and that sticking to it, their nation in general, and they in particular, shall have comfort in what they have done. *And to shew that this is more than words, I do hereby promise them, (and command you to see it done), that the penal statutes against Roman Catholics shall not be put in execution, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the Irish give me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I will consent to the repeal of them by a law. But all those against appeals to Rome, and premunire, must stand.* All this in cypher you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with injunction of strictest secrecy. So, again recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Ireland, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private letter, I rest.

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

XX.

*The Earl of Glamorgan's instructions to me, to be presented to your Majesty.*

**T**Hat (God willing) by end of May, or beginning of June, he will land with 6000 Irish.

That the Gentlemen of the several counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Carmarthen, will very speedily, for your Majesty's service in securing these parts, raise and arm four thousand men.

That with the ships which shall bring over the Irish, his Lordship designs to block up Milford-haven; at which time he doubts not to draw these Welch forces into Pembroke-shire.

That,

That, to advance these his undertakings, he hath thirty thousand pounds ready, ten thousand muskets, two thousand case of pistols, eight hundred barrels of powder, besides his own artillery; and is ascertained of thirty thousand pounds more, which will be ready upon his return.

That he hath intelligence from his ships, that divers Hollanders and Dunkirkers come in daily to him.

In order to this service, he commanded me humbly to put your Majesty in mind of his commission, and that he may in fitting time have such command in these counties as may be suitable to his employment, and conducing to the service in hand; these being counties in which, if other designs of landing fail, he can land in: and that your Majesty will seriously consider the services he hath done you in composing the distractions of the county of Monmouth: and that you will be pleased to countenance Sir Thomas Lunsford, and graciously relieve the country in such things, as, without prejudicing your service, may ease them.

*Concerning the county of Monmouth only.*

That, by his Lordship's means, who hath now raised two regiments himself, Sir Thomas Lunsford's forces will be one thousand eight hundred foot, and seven hundred horse; which horse is intended to be quartered in the forest of Dean, in places of secure quartering; as Langot, attempted to have been taken by Sir John Winter, a place of great concernment, both for the reducing the forest, and securing Monmouthshire

That, by his Lordship's intervention and endeavours, your Majesty really sees he hath much qualified the sense of the grievances of the county, and moderated their complaints, by subducing the intended petition; and therefore hopes your Majesty will so specially commend their humble suit to Prince Rupert, as it may be successful.

That though the prayer of their petition is, to reduce the contribution to the proportion set by the parliament at Oxford, yet his Lordship hath so wrought, as these petitioners have under their hands obliged themselves to continue the double payment for two months more; and doubts not but, in relation to the exigence of your Majesty's service, to prevail for further time.

His humble suit is, that I may carry with me into the country your Majesty's order, that the forces of Sir Thomas Lunsford may not be removed, but upon urgent occasion, until his return; and that only upon your Majesty's or Prince Rupert's special order; otherwise it will be a great obstruction and discouragement in raising or continuing the number proposed.

That your Majesty will be pleased, in their favour, to write your letter to Prince Rupert, and that the country may have the honour to present it, to the end they may be eased of free quarter, exactions above their contribution, and unnecessary garrisons; that Cheapstow and Monmouth may be the better strengthened.

That Sir Thomas Lunsford may be qualified with authority, to protect them according to such order as the Prince shall make.

March 21.  
1644.

These presented by your

loyal subject,

EDWARD BOSDON.

*This is a true copy,*

ZOUCH TATZ.

## XXI.

*Colonel Fitzwilliam humbly prays and propounds to the Queen as followeth,*

**T**Hat your Sacred Majesty will vouchsafe to prevail with his Majesty, to condescend to the just demands of his Irish subjects, the confederate Catholics in his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, at least in private.

That, upon the consideration thereof, Col. Fitzwilliam humbly propounds, and undergoeth, (with the approbation of Mr. Hardegan, now employed agent for the said confederate Catholics in France), to bring an army of ten thousand men, and more, of his Majesty's subjects in his kingdom of Ireland, for his Majesty's service, into England.

That Col. Fitzwilliam undertakes, for the sum of ten thousand pound Sterl. to levy, ship, and arm the said ten thousand men; and so proportionably for more or less; and that the said money may be put into such hands as may be safe for his Majesty, as well as ready for the Colonel, when it shall appear the said army shall be in a readiness to be transported into England.

That, upon the landing the said men, there shall be advanced to the Colonel one month's pay for all the army, according to the muster, for the present support of the army.

That Col. Fitzwilliam may be Commander in chief thereof, and dispose of all the offices, and only be commanded by his Majesty, his Highness the Prince of Wales, and Prince Rupert; and qualified with such commissions as hath been formerly granted to his Majesty's Generals that have commanded bodies apart from his Majesty's own army, as the Marquis of Newcastle, the Earl of Kingston, and others; hereby the better to enable him in the levies, as well as in the general conduct of the business; and that in respect the parliament gives no quarter to his Majesty's Irish subjects, therefore that the said forces shall not by any order whatsoever be divided.

That



That the Colonel may be supplied with a body of horse, of at least two thousand, to be ready at the place of landing.

That the Colonel may be provided with ammunition and artillery, or with money requisite for himself to provide necessary proportions to bring with him.

That the army shall be paid as other armies of his Majesty.

Having taken these propositions into consideration, we have thought fit to testify our approbation and agreement thereunto, under our sign-manual; assuring what hath been desired of us therein, shall be forthwith effectually endeavoured; and not doubting to the satisfaction of the confederate Catholics of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, and to the said Col. Fitzwilliam: so that we may justly expect an agreeable compliance and performance accordingly from all parties in these several concernments.

This is a true copy of the original sent by her Majesty to the King, May 16. 1645.

A. LOWLY, Secretary to the Right Honourable the Lord Jermin.

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

## XXII.

*To my wife, 14 Jan. 1644 $\frac{1}{2}$ . By Choquen.*

*Dear Heart,*

**P**Ooly came the  $\frac{1}{2}$  $\frac{2}{2}$  Jan.; to whose great dispatch though for some days I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy letter, not without relating to something of his discourse.

As I confess it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftener from me, so excuse me to deny that

it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentions, if their affections were so real as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each letter will shew my diligence; and certainly there goes no great wit to find out ways of sending; wherefore if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty. But to imagine, that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every one should know, (excuse me to say it), is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it, though he say it. And for my affection to thee, it will not be the miscarrying of a letter or two that will call it in question. But take heed, that these discourses be not rather the effect of their weariness of thy company, than the true image of their thoughts. And of this is not the proposal of thy journey to Ireland a pretty instance? For seriously, of itself, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard; thy giving ear to it being most assuredly only to express thy love to me, and not thy judgment in my affairs. As for the business itself, (I mean the peace of Ireland); to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent thee the last dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thyself. Only thou mayst in general let the Q. Regent and ministers there understand, that I have offered my Irish subjects so good satisfaction that a peace will shortly ensue; which I really believe. But, for God's sake, let none know the particulars of my dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholden to the Portugal agent, (and little to the French); it being by his means that I have sent thee all my letters (besides expresses) since I came hither, though I expected most from Sabran.

" I will not trouble thee with repetitions of news;  
" Digby's dispatch, which I have seen, being so full  
" that I can add nothing. Yet I cannot but paraphrase  
" a little upon that which he calls his superstitious ob-  
" servation. It is this; nothing can be more evident,  
" than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one  
" of

“ of the great causes of God’s just judgments upon  
 “ this nation, by a furious civil war; both sides hi-  
 “ therto being almost equally punished, as being in a  
 “ manner equally guilty. But now this last crying  
 “ blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no presump-  
 “ tion hereafter to hope that his hand of justice must  
 “ be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking  
 “ now upon our cause, having passed by our faults.”

*This is a true copy, examined by*

EDM. PRIDEAUX.

XXIII.

*Copy to the D. of R.*

*Richmond,*

**I** Thank you for the account you sent me by this bearer; and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you, that my going to West. is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a treaty with com. there or thereabouts; and that you mention the security I ask with my coming to West. And I hope I need not remember you to cajole well the Independents and Scots. This bearer will tell you how well our western and northern associations go on; to whom I refer you for other things.—I rest.

*This is a true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

XXIV.

*Memorials for Secretary Nicholas concerning the treaty at Uxbridge.*

Oxford, Feb. 1644.

1. **F**OR religion and church-government, I will not go one jot further than what is offered by you already.

2. And

2. And so for the militia, more than what ye have allowed by me. But even in that you must observe, that I must have free nomination of the full half; as, if the total number, Scots and all, be thirty, I will name fifteen: yet, if they (I mean the English rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English; and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular persons; besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services; not sparing to engage for places, so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but as much profit as you will. With this last you are only to acquaint Richmond, Southampton, Culpeper, and Hyde.

*This is a true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

## XXV.

*Directions for my Uxbridge commissioners.*

*First, concerning religion.*

**I**N this the government of the church (as I suppose) will be the chief question; wherein two things are to be considered, conscience and policy. For the first, I must declare unto you, that I cannot yield to the change of the government by Bishops: not only as I fully concur with the most general opinion of Christians in all ages, as being the best; but likewise I hold myself particularly bound by the oath I took at my coronation, not to alter the government of this church from what I found it. And as for the church's patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it; it being without peradventure sacrilege, and likewise contrary to my coronation-oath. But whatsoever shall be offered for rectifying of abuses, if any have crept

crept in, or yet for the ease of tender consciences, (so that it endamage not the foundation), I am content to hear; and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto. For the second; as the King's duty is, to protect the church; so it is the church's, to assist the King in the maintenance of his just authority: wherefore my predecessors have been always careful (and especially since the reformation) to keep the dependency of the clergy entirely upon the crown; without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the King's head; therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

*Next, concerning the militia.*

After conscience, this is certainly the fittest subject for a King's quarrel: for without it the kingly power is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known laws of the land. Yet, because to attain to this so much wished peace by all good men, it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and real security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon, I permit you, either by leaving strong towns or other military force in the rebels possession, (until articles be performed), to give such assurance for performance of conditions as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace; provided always that ye take (at least) as great care by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to me; *and to make sure that, the peace once settled, all things should return into their ancient channels.*

*Thirdly, for Ireland.*

I confess, they have very specious popular arguments to press this point, the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends than this. And I have as much reason, both in honour and policy, to take care how to answer this as any. All the world knows the eminent inevitable necessity which caused me to  
make



make the Irish cessation, and there remains yet as strong reason for the concluding of that peace; wherefore ye must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way be shown me how my Protestant subjects there may probably (at least) defend themselves; and that I shall have no more need to defend my conscience and crown, from the injuries of this rebellion.

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

# XXVI.

*At Uxbridge, on Wednesday the 29th of January 1644, the protestation under written was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his Majesty's commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded peace.*

**I** A. B. being one of the commissioners assigned by his Majesty for this present treaty at Uxbridge, do protest and promise in the sight of almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveal unto any person or persons whatsoever, who is not a commissioner, any matter or thing that shall be spoken of during the treaty, by any one or more of his Majesty's commissioners, in any private debate among ourselves concerning the said treaty, so as to name or describe, directly or indirectly, the person or persons that shall speak any such matter or thing, unless it be by the consent of all the said commissioners that shall be then living.

*Memorandum, That it is by all the said commissioners agreed, That this shall not bind where any ten of the commissioners shall agree to certify his Majesty the number of assenters or dissenters, upon any particular result in this treaty, not naming or describing the persons.*

*This is a true copy, examined by*

ZOUCH TATE.

## XXVII.

*The Queen to the King from York, March 30. 1644.  
also April.*

*My Dear Heart,*

**I** Need not tell you from whence this bearer comes; only I will tell you, that the propositions which he brings you are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution. Therefore find some means to send them back, which may not discontent them, and do not tell who gave you this advice. Sir Hugh Cholmondeley is come with a troop of horse to kiss my hands. The rest of his people he left at Scarborough, with a ship laden with arms, which the ships of the parliament had taken and brought thither, so she is ours. The rebels have quitted Tadcaster upon our sending forces to Whetherby; but they are returned with twelve hundred men. We send more forces to drive them out, though those we have already at Whetherby are sufficient; but we fear lest they have all their forces thereabout, and lest they have some design; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the last of which they have burnt. Between this and tomorrow night, we shall know the issue of this business; and I will send you an express. I am more careful to advertise you of what we do, that you and we may find means to have passports to send; and I wonder, that upon the cessation you have not demanded that you might send in safety. This shews my love. I understand to-day from London, that they will have no cessation, and that they treat at the beginning of the two first articles, which is of the forts, ships and ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the army. Certainly, I wish a peace more than any, and that with greater reason; but I would the disbanding of the perpetual parliament first, and certainly the rest will be easy afterwards. I do not say this of my own head alone; for generally both those who are for you and against you in this country, wish an end of it; and I am certain, that if you do  
demand

demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, Hull is ours, and all Yorkshire, which is a thing to consider of. And for my particular, if you make a peace, and disband your army, before there is an end to this perpetual parliament, I am absolutely resolved to go into France; not being willing to fall again into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in England. Remember what I have written to you in three precedent letters; and be more careful of me than you have been, or at the least dissemble it, to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu. The man hastens me, so that I can say no more.

York, this 30th of March.

## XXVIII.

**T**His letter should have gone by a man of Mr. Denedsdale, who is gone; and all the beginning of this letter was upon this subject; and therefore by this man it signifies nothing, but the end was so pleasing, that I do not forbear to send it to you. You now know by Elliot, the issue of the business of Tadcaster. Since we had almost lost Scarborough. Whilst Cholmondeley was here, Browne Bushell would have rendered it up to the parliament: but Cholmondeley having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath retaken it; and hath desired to have a Lieutenant and forces of ours to put within it; for which we should take his. He hath also taken two pinaces from Hotham, which brought 44 men to put within Scarborough, 10 pieces of cannon, 4 barrells of powder, and 4 of bullet. This is all our news. Our army marches to-morrow to put an end to Fairfax's Excellency. And I will make an end of this letter, this third of April. I have had no news of you since Parsons.

*A true copy,*

30 March, 3 April.

P. W.

## XXIX.

*The Queen to the King from Bath. April 21. 1644.*

*My Dear Heart,*

**F**Red. Cornwallis will have told you all our voyage as far as Adburie, and the state of my health. Since my coming hither, I find myself so ill, as well in the ill rest that I have, as in the increase of my rheum.

I hope that this day's rest will do me good. I go tomorrow to Bristol, to send you back the carts ; many of them are already returned. My Lord Dillon told me, *not directly from you, though he says you approve it, That it was fit I should write a letter to the commissioners of Ireland to this effect, That they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put in their paper ; and to assure them, that when you shall be in another condition than you are now, that you will give them contentment.*

I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command. Therefore, if it please you that I should do so, send me what you would have me write ; that I may not do more than what you appoint ; and also, that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promise : for I should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to ; and when you have promised it me, I will be confident. I believe also, that to write to my Lord Muskerry without the rest, will be enough ; for the letter which I shall write to him, shall be with my own hand : and if it be to all your commissioners, it shall be by the Secretary. Farewel, my Dear Heart. I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely

Your's.

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

XXX.

## XXX.

*The Queen to the King from Paris. Jan. 1644 $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

Paris, January.

I Have received one of your letters, dated from Marlborough, of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer. I will say nothing concerning this; but only concerning the affair of (Gor.) if it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the commissioners are arrived at London: I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, *that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need.* Also I do not see how you can be in safety without a regiment of guard: for myself, I think I cannot be, *seeing the malice which they have against me, and my religion; of which I hope you will have a care of both.* But, in my opinion, religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat: *for if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholics, it would discourage them to serve you: and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, or any other Catholic prince; for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served yourself.* I have dispatched an express into Scotland to Montrose, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to Mr de Lorrain, and into Holland; I lose no time. If I had more of your news, all would go better. Adieu, my dear heart.

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

My wife,  $\frac{16}{28}$  Decem. Jan. 1644 $\frac{1}{2}$ .



## XXXI.

*The Queen to the King. Paris, Jan. 27. 164 $\frac{4}{5}$ .  
also March 13.*

Paris, Jan.  $\frac{17}{2}$ .

*My Dear Heart,*

**T**OM. Elliot two days since hath brought me much joy and sorrow: the first, to know the good estate in which you are; the other, the fear I have that you go to London. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel, unless it be to hazard your person to save theirs: but thanks be to God, to-day I received one of your's by the Ambassador of Portugal, dated in January, which comforted me much, to see that the treaty shall be at Uxbridge. For the honour of God, trust not yourself in the hands of these people. And if you ever go to London before the parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. *I understand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the army. If you consent to this, you shall be lost: they having the whole power of the militia, they have done, and will do whatsoever they will. I received yesterday letters from the Duke of Lorraine, who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men.* Dr Goffe, whom I have sent into Holland, shall treat with him in his passage upon this business; and I hope very speedily to send good news of this, as also of the money. Assure yourself I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazard my life, that is, to die by famine, rather than not to send to you. Send me word always by whom you receive my letters; for I write both by the Ambassador of Portugal and the Resident of France. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholics. Adieu. You will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it yet myself in cyphers. Shew to my nephew Rupert, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the  
reason

reason why I write not to him. I know not how to send great packets.

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

My wife,  $\frac{27}{17}$  Jan. 164 $\frac{4}{5}$ .

XXXII.

Paris, this 13th of March.

*My Dear Heart,*

Since my last, I have received one of your letters marked 16. by which you signify the receipt of my letters by Pooly; which hath a little surpris'd me, seeming to me that you write as if I had in my letter something which had displeas'd you. If that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I only did believe that it was necessary you should know all. There is one other thing in your letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to myself your dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any, only to Lord Jermyne to uncypher them; my head not suffering me to do it myself: but if it please you, I will do it, and none in the world shall see them. Be kind to me, or you kill me. I have already affliction enough to fear, which without you I could not do, but your service surmounts all. Farewel, my dear heart; behold the mark which you desire to have, to know when I desire any thing in earnest +; and I pray begin to remember what I spake to you concerning Jack Barclay for Master of the Wards. I am not engaged, nor will not be, for the places of Lord Percy and others; do you accordingly.

13 March 1644.

XXXIII.

## XXXIII.

Newark, the 27 of June.

*My Dear Heart,*

**I** Received just now your letter by my Lord Savile; who found me ready to go away, staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two days stop. It is, to have Hull and Lincoln. Young Hotham having been put in prison by order of parliament, is escaped, and hath sent to 260 that he would cast himself into his arms, and that Hull and Lincoln should be rendered. He is gone to his father, and 260 writes for your answer; so that I think I shall go hence Friday or Saturday, and shall go lie at Werton, and from thence to Ashby; where we will resolve what way to take; and I will stay there a day, because that the march of the day before will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the enemy marches. All their forces of Nottingham at present are gone to Leicester and Derby; which makes us believe, that it is to intercept our passage; as soon as we have resolved, I will send you word. At this present I think it fit to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behind me, for the safety of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. I leave 2000 foot, and wherewithal to arm 500 more, 20 companies of horse, all this to be under Charles Cavendish, whom the Gentlemen of the country have desired me not to carry with me; against his will, for he desired extremely to go. The enemies have left within Nottingham 1000. I carry with me 3000 foot, 30 companies of horse and dragoons, 6 pieces of cannon, and 2 mortars. Harry Jermyn commands the forces which go with me, as Colonel of my guard, and Sir Alexander Lesly the foot under him, and Gerard the horse, and Robin Legg the artillery, and her She-Majesty Generalissima, and extremely diligent, with 150 waggons of baggage to govern, in case of battle. Have a care that no troop of Essex his army incommode us: for I hope that for the rest we shall be strong enough; for at Nottingham we had the experience; one of our troops having beaten six of theirs,  
and

and made them fly. I have received your proclamation, or declaration ; which I wish had not been made, being extremely disadvantageous for you ; for you shew too much fear, and do not what you had resolved upon. Farewel, my dear heart.

The Queen to the King, 27 June 1643.

XXXIV.

*Instructions to ———, sent to the court of France the 12th of July 1626.*

*C H A R L E S    R e x .*

IT is not unknown both to the French King and his mother, what unkindnesses and distastes have fallen between my wife and me ; which hitherto I have borne with great patience, (as all the world knows), ever expecting and hoping an amendment ; knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty counsels of her servants, for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own inclination. For, at my first meeting of her at Dover, I could not expect more testimonies of respect and love than she shewed : As to give one instance, her first suit to me was, That she being young, and coming to a strange country, both by her years, and ignorance of the customs of the place, might commit many errors ; therefore that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had, with my instructions, learned her to eschew them ; and desired me, in these cases, to use no third person, but to tell her myself when I found she did any thing amiss. I both granted her request, and thanked her for it ; but desired that she would use me as she had desired me to use her ; which she willingly promised me. Which promise she never kept. For a little after this, Madam St George taking a distaste, because I would not let her ride with us in the coach when there was women of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in England we think a strange thing), set my  
wife

wife in such an humour of distaste against me, as that, from that very hour to this, no man can say, that ever she used me two days together with so much respect as I deserved of her; but, by the contrary, has put so many disrespectes on me, as it were too long to set down all. Some I will relate. As I take it, it was at her first coming to Hampton-court, I sent some of my council to her, with those orders that were kept in the Queen my mother's house; desiring she would command the Count of Tilliers, that the same might be kept in her's. Her answer was, she hoped that I would give her leave to order her house as she list herself. Now, if she had said that she would speak with me, not doubting to give me satisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her, whatsoever she would have said of this to myself; for I could only impute it to ignorance: but I could not imagine that she should affront me so as to refuse me in such a thing publicly. After I heard this answer, I took a time (when I thought we had both best leisure to dispute it) to tell her calmly, both her fault in the public denial, and her mistaking of the business itself. She, instead of acknowledging her fault and mistaking, gave me so ill an answer, that I omit, not to be tedious, the relation of that discourse, having too much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little neglects I will not take the pains to set down; as, her eschewing to be in my company; (when I have any thing to speak to her, I must manage her servants first, else I am sure to be denied); her neglect of the English tongue, and of the nation in general. I will also omit the affront she did me, before my going to this last unhappy assembly of parliament, because there has been talk enough of that already, &c. The author of it is before you in France. To be short, omitting all other passages, coming only to that which is most recent in memory; I having made a commission to make my wife's jointure, &c. to assign her those lands she is to live on; and it being brought to such a ripeness that it wanted but my consent to the particulars they had chosen; she taking notice, that it was now time to name the officers for her revenue, one night when



when I was a bed, put a paper in my hand, telling me it was a list of those that she desired to be of her revenue. I took it, and said I would read it next morning; but withal told her, that, by agreement in France, I had the naming of them. She said there were both English and French in the note. I replied, that those English I thought fit to serve her, I would confirm; but for the French, it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature. Then she said, all those in the paper had breviate from her mother, and herself; and that she could admit no other. Then I said, it was neither in her mother's power, nor her's, to admit any without my leave; and that, if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended should not come in. Then she bade me plainly take my lands to myself; for if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, she would have neither lands nor house of me; but bade me give her what I thought fit in pension. I bade her then remember to whom she spake; and told her, that she ought not to use me so. Then she fell into a passionate discourse, how she is miserable, in having no power to place servants; and that businesses succeeded the worse for her recommendation; which when I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me. Then she went on, saying, she was not of that base quality, to be used so ill. Then I made her both hear me, and end that discourse. Thus having had so long patience, with the disturbance of that that should be one of my greatest contentments, I can no longer suffer those that I know to be the cause and fomenters of these humours, to be about my wife any longer: which I must do, if it were but for one action they made my wife do; which is, to make her go to Tyburn in devotion to pray; which action can have no greater inveſtive made against it, than the relation. Therefore you shall tell my brother the French King, as likewise his mother, that this being an action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it; especially since he hath done the like himself, not staying while he had so much reason. And being an action that some may interpret of harshness to his nation,

tion, I thought good to give him an account of it, because that in all things I would preserve the good correspondence and brotherly affection that is between us.

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

XXXV.

Oxford, Jan. 1644 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Dear Heart,*

**I** Receive it as a good augury thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the 30th Decemb. which I cannot stay to decypher, for not losing this opportunity; it likewise being a just excuse for this short account. This day I have dispatched Digby's Secretary, fully relating the state of our affairs; therefore I shall only now tell thee, that the rebels are engaged into an equal treaty, without any of those disadvantages which might have been apprehended when Tom. Elliot went hence; and that the distractions of London were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect, as now; lastly, that assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my wife, 1 Jan. 1644. By P. A.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

MILESCORBET.

XXXVI.

Oxford, Thursday 24 April.

*Harry,*

**L**est my wife should not yet be fit for any business, I write this to you; not to excuse my pains, but ease her's; and that she may know, but not be troubled

bled with my kindness, I refer to your discretion, how far to impart my letter to her, or any other business; that so her health, in the first place, be cared for, then my affairs. And now I must tell you, that undoubtedly, if you had not trusted to Digby's sanguine complexion, (not to be rebated from sending good news), you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken intelligence; for if he should strictly tie himself to certain truths in this kind, you must have nothing from him but by proclamations or ordinances from the pretended houses. But tell me, can you not distinguish between what we send you upon certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an oath the mark of distinction? And are you obliged to publish all the news we send you? Seriously, I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French court. And certainly there is as much dexterity in publishing of news, as in matters which at first sight may seem of greater difficulty: for as I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon me were in vain, so I would not have them believe that I needed no help, lest they should under-hand assist any rebels, to keep the balance of dissension among us equal.

For matter of news, and present state of my affairs, I refer you to Digby; only this in general, that if it shall please God to assist us this year but half so miraculously as he did the last, (my present state compared with what it was this time twelvemonth), I am very hopeful to see a joyful harvest before next winter: nor do I think this in any human probability possible, except my wife can procure me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to despair, your last giving me good hope concerning Lorrain. And though I say not that for the other I have so good an author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149. in her's the 10th of March, says, *J'ay une affaire assure qui vous donnera 40,000 pistoles, que je vous eusse envoye, si j'eusse en mon navire revenu avec l'estain.*

In the last place, I will impose that upon you that is not reasonable to expect from my wife; which is, to

give me a continual account what letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or comes slowly: to which end, take notice, that all my letters to her are numerarily marked on the top, as this is with 37. and likewise I now begin the same with you. So farewell.

In your next let me know particularly how my wife is; which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is; if well, then every word will please me. I have commanded Digby to write to you freely concerning Will. Murray, which I hold to be necessary as concerning Montrose's business.

To the Lord Jermyn, 24 Apr. 1645, concerning France.

*This is a true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

XXXVII.

*Dear Heart,*

**S**INCE my last by Choquen I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter. That which is now, is the progress of the treaty; of which these inclosed papers will give thee a full account. But if thou have them sooner from London than me, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to send by, in respect of the other. For the business itself, I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of treaters: and for my propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last; wherefore I need to say nothing of them: and for my instructions, they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them. Now, upon the whole matter, I desire thee to show the Queen and ministers there, the improbability that this present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the rebels propositions and mine; and that I cannot alter mine; nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force; which a little

little assistance, by thy means, will soon make them : for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive, (which a reasonable sum of money would do), they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning our *interferings here at Oxford*, I desire thee to suspend thy judgment (for I believe few but partial relations will come to thee) until I shall send some whom I may trust by word of mouth ; it being too much trouble to us both to set them down in paper.

Copy to my wife, 22 Jan. 1644.

*This is a true copy, examined by*

MILES CORBET.

### XXXVIII.

*Dear Heart,*

I Never till now knew the good of ignorance: for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape ; we having had a pleasing false report of thy safe landing at Newcastle ; which thine of the 19 Jan. so confirmed us in, that we at least were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a danger thou hast passed: of which I shall not be out of apprehension, until I may have the happiness of thy company ; for indeed I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast run so much hazard ; in which thou hast expressed so much love to me, that I confess it is impossible to repay by any thing I can do, much less by words : but my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee of the 23 Feb. has bred great discourse in several persons, and of several kinds : As, my saying I was persecuted for places, is applied to all, and not only those that I there name to be suitors : whereas the truth is,



I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time enough to name as well as some there mentioned; for I confess 174. and 133. are not guilty of that fault. Some find fault as too much kindness to thee; (thou may easily vote from what constellation that comes); but I assure such, that I want expression, not will, to do it ten times more to thee on all occasions. Others press me as being brought upon the stage: but I answer, that having professed to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for our treaty, (leaving the particulars to this inclosed), I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning my part in it; for all the soldiers are well pleased with what I have done: but expect no cessation of arms; for the lower house will have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband till all be agreed. Lastly, for our military affairs, I thank God, that here and in the west they prosper well. As for the north, I refer thee to 226. 140. information. So, daily expecting and praying for good news from thee, &c.

Copy to my wife, 13 Feb. 1643.

Oxford, 13 Feb. 1643.

*A true copy,*

ZOUCH TATE.

### XXXIX.

*Instructions to Colonel Cockran, to be pursued in his negotiation to the King of Denmark.*

**Y**OU are to inform the King of Denmark, that by his Majesty's command, as to the nearest ally of his crown, his uncle, and whom he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in interest as affection, you are sent to give a particular account of the state of his Majesty's affairs; to renew the

the ancient league and amity that hath been between the two kingdoms, and families-royal ; and to reduce it to more exact particulars, such as might be useful to the present affairs of England, and all occurrences in the future of those of Denmark.

That the present affair of your negotiation is, to demand an assistance from his Majesty, such a one as the present state of the affairs of England requires, against a dangerous combination of his Majesty's subjects, who have not only invaded his Majesty in his particular rights, but have laid a design to dissolve the monarchy and frame of government, under pretences of liberty and religion ; becoming a dangerous precedent to all the monarchies of Christendom, if attended with success in their design.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been such as hath not admitted any foreign treaty to be interested in suppressing their design, without giving them advantage of scandalizing his Majesty's intentions, and drawing away universally the hearts of his people, whom they had insinuated, under pretence of reformation of particular abuses of government, and ministers of estate, to concur generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous consequence and design were visible to his Majesty) a present compliance was necessary, lest any public opposition on his Majesty's part, that might seem to defeat the great expectations which they had raised in the commons in those plausible particulars, might have occasioned a general revolt throughout the kingdoms ; great jealousies being dispersed and fomented among them of his Majesty's foreign treaties, and force to be used to oppose and suppress those their desires, and the movers therein.

Upon the credit they had herewith built on the people's opinions, they proceeded, under pretence of reformation of religion, to dissolve the government of the church, according to its constitution in England ; a chief column and support to that monarchy and crown.

They lastly invaded his Majesty in all the prerogatives

tives of his crown; and, under pretence of ill ministers and counsellors of estate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to invest in themselves, in all times for the future, the domination of all ministries of estate, and of his Majesty's family; withdrew all his revenues into their own hands; and, to confirm themselves in an absolute power of disposing his estate, entered upon possessing themselves of the militia of the kingdom, his navy and magazines: in which his Majesty being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous tumults were raised against him; so that he was forced to forsake London, for preservation of his person, his Queen and children.

That since, for the safety of the Queen, he hath been forced to send her into Holland, and to retire himself to the best-affected party of his subjects; from whence, by declarations setting forth the sinister proceedings of that faction, discovering their designs of innovating the government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to him, he hath had the advantage generally to undeceive his people, to draw to him universally the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom. But the other faction, still keeping up some interest and credit with the commons, in the desperate estate they find themselves, begin to make head against him; have appointed a General, and are levying forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of hostility, violence, and rebellion.

That his Majesty, having great encouragements given him, by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that resort to him, is already advanced near them with 6000 horse and 10,000 foot.

That the States of Holland have condescended to give her Majesty the Queen, a convoy of the greatest part of their fleet now at sea, for her return into England.

That divers forts and counties, upon his Majesty's personal appearance, have declared for him; so that his affairs at home grow daily into a better estate; as he likewise expects and hopes, that all his neighbour princes and allies, will not look upon so dangerous a precedent

precedent to their own crowns and monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a design begun within his kingdom.

That to give his (Danish) Majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to his own interest, of their success, it hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons house long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the Dutch, and to set out a fleet to take away his customs of the Sound.

That they have since imputed to his Majesty, as a ground to scandal him with his people, That he did negotiate the introducing, by his uncle the King of Denmark, a foreign power to settle his affairs; and under that pretext have given a large commission and particular instructions to the fleet, to visit, search, and intercept all such Danish ships as they should meet, and to fight with, sink or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take and detain them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to which they have searched, visited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the Norway trade, driven commonly in this kingdom in their own bottoms: and that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation, being bound for the West Indies, and put in by stress of weather in the west of England.

That, in pursuance of their great design of extirpating the Royal blood and monarchy of England, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon his Royal family; endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his sister, at once to cut off the interest and pretensions of the whole race: which their most detestable and scandalous design they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances and times, to colour their pretensions in so great a fault; and which as his Sacred Majesty of England, in the true sense of honour of his mother, doth abhor, and will punish; so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a sister of so happy memory, and by whom so  
near

near an union, and continued league of amity, hath been produced between the families and kingdoms.

That the particulars in which his Majesty doth desire his assistance, are, in the loan and raising of men, money, arms and ships, all, or such of them as may consist best with the convenience of his own affairs; and of such in the first place as may be most requisite and wanting to his Majesty.

That to set his levies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his subjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution, 100,000 l. will be necessary for him; which his Majesty desires by way of loan. And for the restitution of it, besides his Kingly word and solemn engagement upon this treaty, he is contented, of such his crown-jewels as are in his disposure, to leave his Royal pledge, if it shall be desired.

The particulars of arms that he desires, are 6000 muskets, 1500 horse-arms, and 20 pieces of field-artillery mounted.

Assistance of men, he desires only in horsemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Island, or Newcastle, are designed for the landing of the said horse, and magazine of the said provisions; for reception likewise and protection of such his ships as he shall think fit to employ, for the countenance and security of those his subjects that shall trade upon these coasts, and for ascertaining the correspondence and intelligence between the two kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best sort and agree with his own affairs; and for which the Holy Island is conceived one of the aptest harbours in his Majesty's dominions, being capable of any ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion; an excellent road at the entrance, a ready outlet, and a strong fort under his Majesty's command.

That in lieu of this assistance contributed by the King of Denmark, his Majesty will oblige himself, and ratify in express articles, to restore into the magazines of Denmark, a like proportion of arms and ammunition;



ammunition; to repay and defray the charges of the money lent, and levies of horse; and so soon as his affairs shall be settled, and himself in a condition to do it, upon all occasions, to contribute the assistance of his fleet, in maintaining his right and title to the customs of the Sound against all persons whatsoever; to ratify the treaty that was made last by Sir Thomas Rowe; and to enter into a league offensive and defensive against intestine rebellions. In pursuance of which treaty, while the negotiations and articles may be severally perfected, his Majesty doth expect this first supply of monies and arms; present affairs not admitting a delay in the same.

That in case the King of Denmark will lend money upon jewels, there is in Holland a great collar of rubies, and another of rubies and pearl, that may be sent to him, or delivered to his agent there; who may have order to pay the money here; or any other jewels.

That there have been in discourses several propositions of accommodation made by them to the King; to which the King hath at all times made more advances on his part, than in reason could have been expected from him, and the difficulties have still risen on theirs.

And that whereas his Majesty doth understand, that a person is addressed to the King of Denmark from his parliament, to insinuate misunderstandings abroad with his Majesty's allies, as they have done at home among his people; his Majesty expects, that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his dominions, to become an intelligencer and spy upon the treaty and negotiations between their Majesties; but that he be dismissed and sent away so soon as ever he shall arrive.

**K**ing Charles I. in a printed declaration dated from Newark, March 9. 1641, says to the parliament,  
*"Whatsoever you are advertised from Rome, Venice,  
 "Paris, of the Pope's muncio soliciting France, Spain,  
 " &c. for foreign aids, we are confident no sober honest  
 " man*

“ man in our kingdom, can believe that we are so desperate, or so senseless, to entertain such designs, as would not only bury this our kingdom in certain destruction and ruin, but our name and posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy.”

If this passage be compared with the preceeding letters and instructions, all equitable men may judge, whether the King did not pass sentence against himself, and absolve the high court of justice.

An order sent to the King's printer, with the proclamation against the Irish rebels.

**I**T is his Majesty's pleasure, that you forthwith print in very good paper, and send unto me for his Majesty's service, forty copies of the proclamation inclosed, leaving convenient space for his Majesty to sign above, and to affix the privy signet underneath. And his Majesty's command is, that you print not above the said number of forty copies, and forbear to make any further publication of them, till his pleasure be further signified; for which this shall be your warrant.

Whitehall, 2 Jan.  
1641.

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

For his Majesty's printer.

*Propositions delivered to his Majesty by the Earl of Strafford, for securing of his Majesty's estate, and bridling of parliaments, and for increase of his revenue much more than it is.*

**T**OUCHING the first, having considered divers means, I find none so important to strengthen your Majesty's Regal authorities against all oppositions or practices of troublesome spirits, as to fortify your kingdom, by having a fortress in every chief town and important place thereof, furnished with ordnance, munition,

munition, and faithful men, as they ought to be, with all other circumstances fit to be digested in a business of this nature.

Ordering withal the trained foldiers of the country to be united in one dependency with the said forts, as well to secure their beginnings, as to secure them in any occasion of suspect, and keep their arms for more security; whereby the countries are no less to be brought into subjection than the cities themselves, and consequently the whole kingdom; your Majesty having, by this course, the power thereof in your own hands.

*The reasons of these suggestions.*

First, That, in policy, it is a greater tye of the people by force and necessity, than merely by love and affection: for by the one the government resteth always secure; but by the other, no longer than the people are well contented.

Secondly, It forceth obstinate subjects to be no more presumptuous than it pleaseth your Majesty to permit them.

Thirdly, That to have a state unfurnished, is to give the bridle thereof to the subject; when by the contrary it resteth only in the prince's hand.

Fourthly, That modern fortresses take long time in winning, with such charge and difficulty as no subjects in these times have means probable to attempt them.

Fifthly, That it is a sure remedy against rebellious and popular mutinies, or against foreign powers; because they cannot well succeed, when by this course the apparent means is taken away, to force the King and state upon a doubtful fortune of a set battle, as was the cause that moved the pretended invasion against the land attempted by the King of Spain, 1588.

Sixthly, That your Majesty's government is now secured by the people's more subjection; and by their subjection your parliament must be forced consequently to alter their style, and to be conformable to your will and pleasure: for their words and opposition importeth nothing, where the power is in your Majesty's own

own hands, to do with them what you please ; being indeed the chief purpose of this discourse, and the secret intent thereof, fit to be concealed from any English at all, either counsellor of state or others.

For these and other weighty reasons, it may be considered in this place, to make your Majesty more powerful and strong, some orders be observed, that are used in fortified countries, the government thereof importeth as much as the states themselves, I mean in times of doubt and suspect ; which are these.

*Imprimis*, That none wear arms or weapons at all, either in city or country, but such as your Majesty may think fit to privilege ; and they to be inrolled.

*Secondly*, That as many high-ways as conveniently may be done, may be made passable through those cities and towns fortified, to constrain the passengers to travel through them.

*Thirdly*, That soldiers of fortresses be sometimes chosen of another nation, if subjects to the same prince ; but howsoever not to be born in the same province, or within forty miles of the fortress ; and not to have friends or correspondency near it.

*Fourthly*, That at the gates of such walled towns be appointed officers, not to suffer any unknown passenger to pass without a ticket, shewing from whence he came, and whither he goeth ; and that the gates of each city be shut at night, and the keys be kept by the Mayor or Governor. Also that the inn-keepers do deliver the names of all unknown passengers that lodge in their houses ; and if they stay suspiciously at any time, to present them to the Governor : whereby dangerous persons seeing these strict courses, will be more wary of their actions, and thereby mischievous attempts will be prevented. All which being referred to your Majesty's wise consideration, it is meet for me withal to give you some satisfaction of the charge and time to perform what is proposed, that you may not be discouraged in the difficulty of the one, or prolongation of the other. Both which doubts are resolved in one and the same reason ; in respect that in England each chief town commonly hath a ruined castle,

castle, well seated for strength ; whose foundation and stones remaining, may be both quickly repaired for this use, and with little charge ; and made strong enough, I hope, for this purpose in the space of one year, by adding withal bulwarks and rampiers, according to the rules of fortification.

The ordnance for these forts may be of iron ; and not to disfurnish your Majesty's navy, or be at a greater charge than is needful to maintain yearly the forts.

I make account, in ordinary pay, three thousand men will be sufficient ; and will require forty thousand pounds charge *per annum*, or thereabouts, being an expence that inferior princes undergo for their necessary safety. All which prevention added to the invincible sea-forces your Majesty hath already, and may have, will make you the most powerful and obeyed prince of the world ; which I could likewise confirm by many examples, but I omit them for brevity, and not to confuse your Majesty with too much matter. Your gracious Majesty may find, by the scope of this discourse, the means shewed in general to bridle your subjects, that may either be discontented or obstinate. So likewise am I to conclude the same intent, particularly against the perverseness of your parliament, as well to suppress that pernicious humour, as to avoid their oppositions against your profit ; being the second part to be discoursed on.

And therefore have first thought fit, for better prevention thereof, to make known to your Majesty the purpose of a general oath your subjects may take, for sure avoiding of all rubs that may hinder the conclusion of those businesses.

It is further meant, that no subject upon pain of high treason may refuse the same oath, containing only matter of allegiance, and not scruples or points of conscience, that may gain pretence to be denied.

*The effect of the oath is this.*

THat all your Majesty's subjects do acknowledge you to be *absolute King and Monarch* within your dominions,



dominions, as is among the Christian princes, and your prerogative as great; whereby you may and shall of yourself, by your Majesty's proclamation, as well as any other sovereign princes doing the like, make laws, or reverse any made; with any other act so great a monarch as yourself may do; and that without further consent of parliaments, or need to call them at all in such cases; confirming, that the parliament in all matters (excepting causes to be sentenced at the high court) ought to be subject unto your Majesty's will, to give the negative or affirmative conclusion; and not to be constrained by their impertinences to any inconvenience, appertaining to your Majesty's Royal authority; and this notwithstanding any bad pretence or custom to the contrary in practice; which (indeed) were fitter to be offered a prince elected without any other right, than to your Majesty, born successively King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and your heirs for ever; and so resumed, not only of your subjects, but also of the whole world. How necessary the dangerous supremacy of parliament-usurpation is to be prevented, the example of Lewis XI. King of France doth manifest; who found the like opposition as your Majesty doth, and by his wisdom suppressed it; and that to the purpose here intended: which is not to put down altogether parliaments, and their authority, being in many cases very necessary and fit; but to abridge them, so far as they seek to derogate from your Majesty's Royal authority, or advancement of your greatness.

The caution in offering the aforesaid oath may require some policy, for the easier passage of it at first, either by singular or particular tractation; and that so near at one time over the land, as one government may not know what the other intendeth, so it may pass the easier by having no time of combination or opposition.

There is another means also more certain than this, to bring to pass this oath more easily; as also your profit, and what is pretended; which here I omit for brevity, requiring a long discourse by itself; and have set it down in particular instructions to inform your Majesty.

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The second part of this discourse, is touching your Majesty's profit, after your state is secured : wherein I shall observe both some reasonable content to the people, as also consider the great expences that princes have now-a-days, more than in times past, to maintain their greatness, and safety of their subjects ; who if they have not wit or will to consider their own interest, so much your Majesty's wisdom must repair their defects, and force them by compulsion. But I hope there shall be no such cause in points so reasonable.

To increase your Majesty's revenue, I set down divers means for your gracious self to make choice of either, all or part at your pleasure, and to put it in execution by such degrees and conditions as your great wisdom shall think fit in a business of this nature.

*Imprimis*, The first course or means intended to increase your Majesty's revenues or profit withal, is of greatest consequence : and I shall call it a *decima*, being so termed in Italy, where in some parts it is in use ; importing the tenth part of all subjects estates, to be paid as a yearly rent to the prince, and as well moneyed men in towns, as landed men in the countries, their value and estates esteemed justly as it is to the true value, (though with reason), and this paid yearly in money : which course applied in England for your Majesty's service, may serve instead of subsidies, fifteens, and such like ; which in this case are fit to be released for the subjects benefit and content, in recompence of the said *decima* ; which will yield your Majesty more in certainty, than they do casually, by five hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, at the least.

*Item*, That when your Majesty hath gotten money into your hands by some courses to be set down, it would be a profitable course to increase your *intrato*, to buy out all estates and leases upon your own lands, in such sort that they be made no losers ; whereby, having your lands free, and renting them out to the true value, as it is most in use, and not employed as heretofore, at an old rent and small fines, you may rent it out for at least four or five times more money than the old rent comes to ; so that if your Majesty's lands be

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already.

already but threescore thousand pounds *per annum*, by this course it will be augmented at least two hundred thousand pounds *per annum*; and to buy out the tenants estates, will come to a small matter by the course, to make them no losers, considering the gains they have already made upon the lands: and this is the rather to be done, and the present course changed, because it hath been a custom merely to cozen the King.

*Item*, Whereas most princes do receive the benefit of salt in their own hands, as a matter of great profit, because they receive it at the lowest price possible, and vent it with double gains yearly; the same course used by your Majesty were worth an hundred and fifty thousand pounds at least. It is likewise in other parts, that all weights and measures of the land, either in private houses, shops, or public markets, should be viewed to be just, and sealed once a-year, paying to the prince for it; which in England applied to your Majesty, with order to pay six pence for the sealing of each said weight or measure, would yield near threescore thousand pounds *per annum*.

*Item*, That all countries pay a *gabella* for transportation of cloth, and so likewise in England; yet in Spain there is an impost upon the wools; which is so great a benefit and wealth to the sheep-masters, as they may well pay you 5 *l. per cent.* of the true value of their shearing; which I conceive may be worth 15,000 *l. per annum*.

*Item*, Whereas the lawyers fees and gains in England be excessive, to your Majesty's subjects prejudice; it were to your Majesty to make use thereof, and to impose on all causes sentenced with the party, to pay 5 *l. per cent.* of the true value that the cause had gained him; and for a recompence thereof, to limit all lawyers fees and gettings; whereby the subject shall save more in fees and charges than he giveth in the *gabella*; which, I believe, may be worth one year with another fifty thousand pounds.

*Item*, Whereas the inns and victualling-houses in England are more chargeable to travellers than in other countries, it were good for your Majesty to limit them

to certain ordinaries, and raise besides a large imposition, as it is used in Tuscany and other parts; that is, prohibiting all inns and victualling-houses, but such as shall pay it; and to impose upon the chief inns and taverns to pay ten pounds a-year to your Majesty, and the worst five pounds *per annum*; and all the ale-houses twenty shillings *per annum*, more or less as they are in custom of all sorts. There are so many in England, that this impost will yield 100,000 *l. per annum* to your Majesty.

*Item*, In Tuscany and other parts there is a *gabella* of all cattle or flesh, or horses, sold in the market, paying three or four pound *per cent.* for what they are sold for; which, by conjecture, may be worth in England 20,000 *l. per annum*; using the like custom upon fish and other victuals, bread excepted. And for this cause all flesh, and fish, and victuals, to be praised and sold by weight; whereby the subject saveth more in not being cozened, than the imposition importeth them.

*Item*, In Tuscany is used a taxation of 7 *l. per cent.* upon all alienations of lands to the true value; as also, seven pounds *per cent.* upon all dowries or marriages; the like, if it be justly used in England, were worth at least 100,000 *l. per annum*; with many other taxations upon meal, and upon all merchandize in all towns, as well port-towns, which here I omit, as not fit for England. And, in satisfaction to the subjects for these taxes, your Majesty may be pleased to release them of wardships; and to enjoy their estates at 18 years old, and in the mean time their profit to be preserved for their own benefit. And also in forfeitures of estates by condemnation, your Majesty may release the subject, as not to take the forfeiture of their lands, but their goods, (high treason only excepted); and to allow the counsel of lawyers in cases of life and death, as also not to be condemned without two witnesses; with such like benefits; which import much more their good, than all the taxations named can prejudice them.

*Item*, That some of the former taxations be used in

Scotland and Ireland, as may easily be brought about by the first example thereof used in England, may very well be made to increase your revenue there, more than it is by 200,000 *l. per ann.*

*Item*, All offices in the land, great and small, in your Majesty's grant, may be granted with condition to pay you a part yearly according to the true value. This in time may be worth, as I conceive, an hundred thousand pounds *per annum*. Adding also notaries, attornies, and such like, to pay some proportion yearly towards it, for being allowed by your Majesty to practise, and prohibiting else any to practise in such places.

*Item*, I know an assured course in your Majesty's navy, which may save at least forty thousand pounds *per annum*; which requiring a whole discourse by itself, I omit; only do promise you to do it whensoever you command.

*Item*, To reduce your Majesty's household to board-wages, as most other princes do, reserving some few tables. This will save your Majesty 60,000 *l. per annum*; and ease greatly the subjects besides, both in carriages and provision, which is a good reason that your Majesty in honour might do it.

*Item*, Whereas your Majesty's laws do command the strict keeping of fasting-days, you may also prohibit on those days to eat eggs, cheese, or white meats, but such only as are contented to pay 18 *d. per annum*, for their liberty to eat them, and the better sort 10*s.* The employment of this may be for the defence of the land, in maintaining the navy, garrisons, and such like; much after the fashion of a *cruzado* in Spain, as your Majesty knoweth.

*Lastly*, I have a course upon Catholics, and very safe for your Majesty, being with their good liking, as it may be wrought to yield you presently at least 200,000 *l. per annum*; by raising a certain value upon their lands, and some other impositions; which requiring a long discourse by itself, I will omit it here, setting it down in my instructions. It will save your Majesty at the least 10,000 *l. per annum*, to make it pain of death,



death, and confiscation of goods and lands, for any of the officers to cozen you, which now is much to be feared they do, or else they could not be so rich; and herein to allow a fourth part benefit to them that shall find out the cozenage.

Here is not meant officers of state, as the Lord Treasurer, &c. being officers of the crown. The sum of all this amounteth to two millions and two hundred thousand pounds *per annum*. Suppose it be but one million and a half, as surely your Majesty may make by the courses set down; yet is more than I promised in my letter for your Majesty's service, besides some sums of money in present by the courses following.

*Imprimis*, By the Prince's marriage.

*Secondly*, To make all the Earls in England *Grandeas*, as in Spain, and *Principi*, with such like privileges, and to pay 20,000 *l.* a piece for it.

*Thirdly*, Also, if you make them feodaries of the towns belonging to their Earldoms, if they will for it ————— besides, as they do to the King of Spain in the kingdom of Naples; and so likewise Barons to be made Earls and Peers, to pay nineteen thousand pounds a piece; I think it might yield five hundred thousand pounds, and oblige them more sure to your Majesty.

*Fourthly*, To make choice of two hundred of the richest men in England in estate that be not Noblemen, and make them titular, as it is used in Naples, and paying for it; that is, a Duke thirty thousand pounds, a Marquis fifteen thousand pounds, an Earl ten thousand pounds, a Baron or Viscount five thousand pounds.

It is to be understood, that ancient Nobility of Barons and Earls are to preceed these as Peers, though these be made Marquisses or Dukes. This may raise a million of pounds, and more to your Majesty. To make Gentlemen of low quality, and franklins, or rich farmers, Esquires, to preceed them, would yield your Majesty also a great sum of money in present.

I know another course to yield your Majesty three hundred thousand pounds in money, which as yet the time serveth not to deliver, until your Majesty be resolved

solved to proceed in some of the former courses; which till then I omit.

Other courses also that may make present money, I shall study for your Majesty's service; and as I shall find them out, acquaint you withal.

*Lastly*, To conclude all these discourses, by the application of this course used for your profit, that is not only the means to make you the richest King that ever England had, but also your safety augmented thereby to be most secure; besides what is shewed in the first part of this discourse, I mean by the occasion of the taxation, and raising of monies, your Majesty shall have cause and means to employ, in all places of the land, so many officers and ministers to be obliged to you for their own profit and interest, as nothing can be attempted against your person and Royal state over the land, but some of these shall in all probability have means to find it out and hinder it. Besides, this course will repress many disorders and abuses in the public government, which were hard to be discovered by men indifferent.

To prohibit gorgeous and costly apparel to be worn but by persons of good quality, shall save the Gentry of the kingdom much more money than they shall be taxed to pay your Majesty.

Thus withal I humbly take my leave, and kiss your gracious hands, desiring pardon for my errors I may commit herein.

*A copy of the commission produced by the Irish for justification of their rebellion.*

CHARLES, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Catholic subjects within our kingdom of Ireland, greeting. Know ye, that we, for the safeguard and preservation of our person, have been enforced to make our abode and residence in our kingdom of Scotland for a long season, occasioned by the  
obstinate

obstinate and disobedient carriage of our parliament in England against us, who have not only presumed to take upon them the government, and disposing of those princely rights and prerogatives that have justly descended upon us from our predecessors, both Kings and Queens of the said kingdom for many hundred years past, but also have possessed themselves of the whole strength of the said kingdom, in appointing governors, commanders, and officers, in all parts and places therein, at their own will and pleasure, without our consent; whereby we are deprived of our sovereignty, and left naked without defence. And forasmuch as we are in ourself very sensible, that these storms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried, by the vehemency of the Puritan party, into our kingdom of Ireland, and endanger our Regal power and authority there also; Know ye therefore, that we, reposing much care and trust in your duty and obedience, which we have for many years past found, do hereby give unto you full power and authority to assemble and meet together with all the speed and diligence that a business of so great consequence doth require, and to advise and consult together by sufficient and discreet numbers, at all times, days, and places, which you shall in your judgments hold most convenient and material, for the ordering, settling, and effecting of this great work, (mentioned and directed unto you in our letters); and to use all politic ways and means possible to possess yourselves (for our use and service) of all the forts, castles, and places of strength and defence within the said kingdom, (except the places, persons, and estates of our loyal and loving subjects the Scots); and also to arrest and seize the goods, estates, and persons, of all the English Protestants within the said kingdom to our use. And in your care and speedy performance of this our will and pleasure, we shall perceive your wonted duty and allegiance to us, which we shall accept, and reward in due time. Witness ourself, at Edinburgh, the first day of October, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

Carolus Princeps, Gregorio PP. XV.

Sanctissime Pater,

**B**eatitudinis vestrae literas non minore gratitudine & ob-  
servantia accepimus, quam exigit, ex qua novimus  
exaratas, insignis benevolentia & pietatis affectus. Atque  
illud imprimis gratum fuit, nunquam satis laudata majorum  
exempla inspicienda nobis a vestra Sanctitate atque imi-  
tanda fuisse proposita; qui licet multoties omnium fortuna-  
rum & vitæ ipsius discrimen adiverint, quo fidem Christi-  
anam laturi propagarent, haud tamen alacriori animo in in-  
festissimos Christi hostes crucis Christi vexilla intulerunt,  
quam nos omnem opem & operam adhibebimus, ut quæ tam-  
diu exulavit pax & unitas, in Christianam rempublicam post-  
liminio reducatur. Cum enim discordiarum patris malitia  
inter illos ipsos qui Christianam profitentur religionem tam  
infelicia seminarit dissidia, hoc vel maxime necessarium du-  
cimus ad sacrosanctam Dei & Salvatoris Christi gloriam  
feliciter promovendam. Et non minori nobis honori futurum  
existimabimus, tritam majorum nostrorum vestigiis insisten-  
tes viam, in piis ac religiosis susceptis illorum æmulos at-  
que imitatores exstitisse, quam genus nostrum ab illis atque  
originem duxisse. Atque ad idem nos istud plurimum in-  
flamat perspecta nobis Domini Regis ac patris nostri vo-  
luntas, & quo flagrat desiderium ad tam sanctum opus por-  
rigendi manum auxiliatricem; tum qui regium pectus ex-  
edit dolor, cum perpendit quam sævæ exoriantur strages,  
quam deplorandæ calamitates ex principum Christianorum  
dissensionibus. Judicium vero quod Sanctitas vestra tulit  
de nostro cum domo ac Principe Catholico affinitatem & nu-  
ptias contrahendi desiderio, & charitati vestrae est consenta-  
neum, nec a sapientia invenietur alienum. Nunquam tan-  
to quo ferimur studio, nunquam tam arcto & tam indisso-  
lubili vinculo ulli mortalium conjungi cuperemus, cujus odio  
religionem prosequeremur. Quare Sanctitas vestra illud in  
animum inducat, ea modo nos esse semperque futuros mode-  
ratione, ut quam longissime absfuturi simus ab omni opere  
quod odium testari possit ullam adversus religionem Catho-  
licam Romanam; omnes potius captabimus occasiones, quo,  
leni benignoque rerum cursu, sinistrae omnes suspiciones e  
medio

*medio penitus tollantur : ut sicut omnes unam individuan  
Trinitatem & unum Christum crucifixum confitemur, in u-  
nam fidem unanimiter coalescamus : quod ut assequamur, la-  
bores omnes atque vigilias, regnorum etiam atque vitæ pe-  
ricula, parvi pendemus. Reliquum est, ut quas possumus  
maximas pro literis quas insignis muneris loco ducimus,  
gratias agentes, Sanctitati vestræ omnia prospera & feli-  
citatem æternam comprecamur. Datum Madridi, 20 Ju-  
nii, 1623.*

*Prince Charles to Pope Gregory XV.*

*Most Holy Father,*

**W**E have received your Holiness's letter with no  
less gratitude and respect than is due to the sin-  
gular good will and pious affection with which we  
know it was written. Nothing could be more accept-  
able to us, than to find the renowned examples of our  
ancestors proposed to us by your Holiness for our study  
and imitation : who though they frequently hazarded  
both lives and fortunes to propagate the Christian faith,  
yet never more chearfully carried the ensigns of the  
cross against the most mortal enemies of Jesus Christ,  
than we will endeavour, to the utmost of our power, to  
restore that peace and union which has been so long  
banished from the Christian commonwealth. For since  
the malice of the father of discord has sowed such un-  
happy divisions among those who profess the Christian  
religion, we think such endeavours to be absolutely  
necessary to promote the glory of God, and of Christ  
our Saviour. Nor shall we esteem it less honour to  
tread in the same path, and to be their rivals and imi-  
tators in pious and religious undertakings, than to de-  
rive our descent from them. And to this we are very  
much encouraged by the known inclination of the King  
our father, who desires nothing more ardently than to  
lend a helping hand to so pious a work ; and feels the  
greatest anguish of heart, when he considers the cruel  
slaughters and deplorable calamities that arise from the  
dissensions of Christian princes. The judgment your  
Holiness



Holiness makes of our desire to contract an alliance and marriage with a Catholic family and princess, is not only agreeable to your charity, but will also be found suitable to your great wisdom. For we would not so vehemently desire to enter into so close and undissolvable an engagement with any mortal creature, whose religion we hated. Therefore your Holiness may rest assured, that our moderation is, and ever shall be such, as will preserve us from any action that may testify the least hatred to the Roman Catholic religion; and that, by easy and gentle means, we will rather embrace all occasions of removing those invidious impressions and suspicions which are among us: that as we confess one individual Trinity, and one Christ crucified, so we may unanimously reunite in one faith; for the attainment of which we shall not only employ our vigilant care and utmost diligence, but most readily hazard our life and kingdoms. It remains only to give your Holiness our best thanks for your letter, which we esteem a most singular present, and to wish your Holiness all manner of prosperity and eternal happiness. At Madrid, June 20. 1623.

*A letter written by Robert Sidney Earl of Leicester, to Algernon Piercy Earl of Northumberland, touching the service of Ireland.*

*My Lord,*

**T**Hough I have written thrice to the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland since my coming from London, to give them account of my stay at court, and that I have also written several letters to some particular friends, in hope that thereby the truth might be known, and myself rightly understood; yet, because those letters peradventure may have miscarried, and lest I should incur the censure of the parliament for negligence or slackness in that service to which I have been designed, I will truly, and as briefly as I can, relate to your Lordship how I have behaved myself; and, if your Lordship please, you may communicate

licate it to the house of Peers, as, in your judgment, and favour to me, you shall think fit ; and I hope it will appear, that as I have been very impatient of this delay, so I have not wanted diligence in the solicitation of my dispatch.

When I came to York, I told the King, that I was come thither to receive his Majesty's commandments and instructions for that employment which he had done me the honour to confer upon me ; and I did humbly beseech him, that I might not be staid at court, because the parliament did desire my speedy repair into Ireland, and that his service, as I conceived, did require it ; at least that some Governor, if I were not worthy of that charge, should be presently sent into that kingdom. The King told me, that he would think of it. But I must confess I did not find his Majesty so ready to dispatch me as I hoped and expected. From that time I did not fail to beseech his Majesty to send me away, upon every opportunity that I had of speaking to him ; and I think there passed not a day that I did not desire the Secretaries of State, and some other persons about the King, to put his Majesty in mind of me, and to hasten my dismissal. Divers times I made it my petition to the King, that he would dispatch me, or declare his intention that he would not let me go at all. The King said, my instructions should be drawn, and that he would give order to Mr Secretary Nicholas to do it as speedily as he could. In expectation whereof, I staid about three weeks till the King came from York ; at which time his Majesty appointed me to follow him to Nottingham, promising that there I should have my expeditious. I obeyed his Majesty, and came after him to this town ; where I have attended ever since, perpetually soliciting to be dispatched ; and beseeching his Majesty, that I might either go to my employment, or have his leave to retire myself to my own house and private condition ; that if he were unwilling to trust me in an employment of so great importance, I did beseech him that I might be no burden to his thoughts, and that he would be pleased to let me know his resoluti-

on ; because I conceived myself to be under a heavy censure, both of the parliament and of the whole kingdom, whilst possibly they might think it my fault, that I was so long absent from that charge which I had undertaken. 'Tis to no purpose to tell you every passage ; but this I protest to your Lordship, That if it had been to save the lives of all my friends and of myself, I could not have done more to procure my dispatch. Nevertheless I have not been able to advance it one step ; nor have I seen any thing to make me hope to have it quickly, till this morning Mr Secretary Nicholas gave me a draught of my instructions to peruse. So I hope, that between this and Monday I shall have done that part ; and I will do the best I can to procure some other thing, without which I know not how I shall be able to do any acceptable service in that kingdom. Your Lordship knows I am a servant ; and I could not run away if I would, or at least it had been to little purpose, though I should have adventured to do so indecent and so undutiful an action. Therefore I hope it will be believed, that I have not been to blame. Now, with your Lordship's leave, I shall trouble you with another particular, wherein perhaps I suffer in the opinion of those who know not what has passed, though I be as innocent as a newborn child ; nay, I have opposed it as much as I had power to do. The King being informed at York by some officious persons, that certain draught-horses were provided to be sent into Ireland, his Majesty told me, that he must needs have them for his own use. I did humbly beseech him not to take them away from his own service in Ireland, for which they were bought, and in which they were to be employed ; and besides what I said myself, I used means by others to save the horses. So that I heard no more of it till I came hither. But then his Majesty told me again, that he must needs have those horses, and pressed me to send for them. I represented to his Majesty the inconsiderableness of those few horses, and that the parliament might take it very ill, in regard that the horses were bought with their money for the service of the poor

poor kingdom of Ireland : therefore I did beseech him not to take them ; or howsoever, that he would secure me from being an instrument in that which I conceived would much hurt his affairs ; and that I being trusted by the parliament, could neither do it myself, nor consent that any other should do that which was a breach of trust, and a great disservice even to his Majesty himself. Notwithstanding this, the King sent to me by Mr. Endymion Porter and Sir George Hay at several times to the same purpose. But I returned the same answer ; adding this also, that I could not do it, and be an honest man to his service ; though it be true that the King said, he would restore the horses, or pay for them. But for all this, it pleased his Majesty to employ one Errington, who served me, and gave him a warrant to fetch the horses. Errington told me of it ; and I forbid him as far as I could to do it ; telling him, that if he did, he must not look to have any thing to do with me for ever ; and that I made no doubt the parliament would hang him for stealing their horses. This and more I said to Errington in the presence of James Battiere my Secretary, who will witness it : and conceiving it to be an unjust thing in itself, displeasing to the parliament, and hurtful to the King's service, I protested against it, though Errington said, that his Majesty had commanded him upon his allegiance to execute the warrant. But indeed I told him, that I did not believe him ; nor could think that his Majesty would command a subject upon his allegiance to take away other mens horses. This I thought sufficient. But it seems I was deceived : for Errington, without my consent or knowledge, went from Nottingham towards Chester, as I heard afterwards ; and I have never seen him since, nor heard from him. What he hath done, I know not ; but I sent to Chester, that the horses should be presently shipped away ; and I caused my Secretary to write to Mr Hawkin, to take care, that neither Errington nor any body from him should receive any more money of Mr Loftus or his deputy, to provide the rest of the horses ; of as yet I think there has been only sixteen hundred

pounds issued to buy two hundred of the six hundred horses allowed by the parliament ; and of that sixteen hundred pounds I will do the best I can to get a good account, whereof the parliament, God willing, shall be informed, with my utmost care and diligence. Truly, my Lord, I do the best I can to serve my country. They that are wiser may do more ; but of any thing contrary to the duty of an honest man, the parliament, upon strict examination, shall never find me guilty. For the reputation of honesty and fidelity is, and I can say no more, as dear to me as your esteeming me

Your Lordship's humble and affectionate servant,

Nottingham, Sept.  
1642.

R. LEICESTER.

*A letter to the Queen, by the Lord George Digby.*

*Madam,*

**I** Shall not adventure to write to your Majesty with freedom, but by expresses, or till such a time as I have a cypher, which I beseech your Majesty to vouchsafe me. At this time therefore I shall only let your Majesty know, that the humblest and most faithful servant you have in the world is here at Middleburg ; where I shall remain in the privatest way I can, till I receive instructions how to serve the King and your Majesty in these parts. If the King betake himself to a safe place, where he may avow and protect his servants, from rage, I mean, and violence ; for from justice I will never implore it ; I shall then live in impatience and misery till I wait upon you. But if after all he hath done of late, he shall betake himself to the easiest and compliantest ways of accommodation, I am confident that then I shall serve him more by my absence than by all my industry : and it will be a comfort to me in all calamities, if I cannot serve you by my actions, that I may do it in some kind by my sufferings for your sake ; having, I protest to God, no measure  
of



of happiness or misfortune in this world, but what I derive from your Majesty's value of my affection and fidelity.

Middleburg, 21 Jan.

1641.

*Another letter to the Queen, from the Lord George Digby.*

*Madam,*

**T**IS the first contentment that I have been capable of this long time, that your Majesty is safely arrived in Holland, withdrawn from a country so unworthy of you. I should have waited the first upon you, both to have rendered my duty according to the precedence of my obligation above others, and to have informed your Majesty the earliest, of the state of this place whither you are coming, both in point of affections and interests; but that there fly about such reports, that the parliament hath desired your Majesty not to admit me to your presence, as I dare not presume into it without particular permission. The ground of their malevolence towards me in this particular is said to be, upon some letters which they have presumed to open, directed to your Majesty from me; which I profess I cannot apprehend. For I am certain that I have not written to your Majesty the least word that can be wrested to an ill sense by my greatest enemies, having not so much as mentioned any business to your Majesty since I left England. To the King I confess I wrote once with that hardiness which I thought his affairs and complexion required; but that was sent by so safe hands, as I cannot apprehend the miscarriage of it. However, *Madam*, if my misfortune be so great, that I must be deprived of the sole comfort of my life, of waiting on your Majesty, and following your fortunes, I beseech you let my doom be so signified to me, as that I may retire with the least shame that well may be, to bewail my unhappiness; which yet will be supportable,

portable, if I may but be assured that inwardly that generous and princely heart preserves me the place of,

*Madam,*

Hague, Mar. 10.

1642.

Your Majesty's most faithful

and most affectionate

humble servant.

*The form of a bill for a new coronation-oath; pursuant to the treaty in the isle of Wight.*

**W** Hereas the solemn oaths and stipulations of Kings to their people at their inaugurations to their crowns, and the renewing and enlarging of them after civil breaches and wars, have been reputed and found a principal and most effectual means to preserve peace and amity between them and their people, and prevent unjust incroachments upon their subjects rights, laws, and liberties; and whereas, by reason of some alterations made without authority of parliament in the oath which his Majesty took at his coronation, and of the late unhappy differences between him and his houses of parliament, there is just and necessary occasion administered to alter and enlarge the ancient oath and stipulation of the Kings of England to their people, for the better composing of the present differences, and preventing all future breaches and incroachments upon the laws and liberties of the subject, and the introducing and exercising of all arbitrary and tyrannical power; be it therefore ordained and enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Lords and Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the King's Majesty, upon his return to this present parliament, and at all other times when both houses of parliament shall require the same, and his heirs and successors Kings and Queens of this realm at their coronations, and at all times else when their parliaments shall think fit, shall take this ensuing oath before both houses

ses of parliament, to be administred by the Speaker of the Lords house for the time being, in form following.

We Charles, King of England, in the name and presence of the most high God, do solemnly swear, and protest to all our subjects and liege-people of this our realm of England, That we shall and will, to the uttermost of our skill and power, all the days of our reign over them, inviolably keep, preserve and maintain the true reformed religion, and confession of faith, therein established, and all just laws, customs, rights, franchises, and liberties heretofore granted to all or any of our said subjects and people by our Royal predecessors or ourself; together with the rights and privileges of parliament; and likewise endeavour to preserve entirely peace and amity between all our subjects and people, and cause equal justice to be administred to them in mercy and truth, without partiality, affection, or delay.

That we will neither proclaim nor make any open war, foreign or domestic, nor raise any forces in, nor invite or introduce any foreign power into our said realm, nor conclude any public truce or peace, nor impose nor levy any tax, talliage, contribution, aid, or benevolence on our said subjects and people; nor embrace nor enhance the current coin of this kingdom; nor alienate any honours, manors, lands, rents, demesnes, castles, forts, jewels, ships, or ammunition, belonging to the crown of this our realm; nor dispose of ourself, nor of our heir-apparent to the crown, in marriage; nor confer any of the great offices of state or judicature within this our realm; nor create any new Peer or Baron thereof; nor erect or maintain any monopoly against law; nor grant any dispensation for the breach of any penal statute of this realm whiles in force, without common consent in parliament.

That we will duly cause a parliament to be summoned within this our realm once every year, or three years at least, according to the statutes in that behalf provided; and will likewise give our Royal assent from time to time for altering or repealing all such old laws as shall be held prejudicial, and passing all such new bills

bills and statutes as shall be judged necessary and beneficial for our said subjects and people by both our houses of parliament upon mature debate.

And if we shall at any time (which God defend) wilfully violate this our solemn oath and protestation in all or any part of the premisses, to the grievance and prejudice of our said subjects and people, and shall not, upon due information thereof by one or both houses of parliament, or by those intrusted by them with the militia of this kingdom, or by our great officers and council of state in the intervals of parliament, redress the same, we do hereby freely and voluntarily protest before God and the world, that then and from thenceforth it shall and may be lawful for the said houses of parliament during their session, and for the greatest part of those intrusted by them with the militia, or for our great officers and council of state in the intervals of parliament, and for all or any of our subjects and people by their direction and command, to assemble together in arms, and by open force or otherwise to redress the same; and to withstand and resist us, and to apprehend and surprise all such persons and forces as shall be aiding or assisting to us therein, without incurring the guilt of treason, sedition, insurrection, rebellion, breach of allegiance, or any other crime, forfeiture, or penalty; it being done in defence of their just rights, laws, and liberties, to which they are obliged by the law of God and nature.

And that all and every person or persons who shall be willingly aiding, counselling or assisting to us in such cases and breaches of all or any clause of this our solemn oath, shall and may be presently proceeded against in due form of law, and adjudged and executed, as traitors and public enemies to us and this our realm, or otherwise punished according to the quality and degree of their offence.

And all this we do cordially and sincerely swear and protest, without any equivocation or mental reservation; and that we will neither directly or indirectly seek to be absolved from this our oath.

So God us help.  
*Die*

*Die Lunæ, 1 Decemb. 1645.*

**T**HE house of Commons doth declare, That it shall be an acceptable service, for any person or persons to inform this house of any member or members of this house, that by himself, or others, directly or indirectly, hath taken or received any money or other thing of any person or persons, for any matter or thing depending in this house, or any committee of this house, since the beginning of this parliament. And the house hath appointed a committee to receive any such informations, who are to sit in the exchequer-chamber upon Thursday next in the afternoon, and so from time to time. And the members of this house are hereby in-joined, if any of them know of any such thing so taken, in manner as aforesaid, by any other of the members, that they do repair to the said committee, and inform them of the same.

*A letter written by command of King Charles the Second, concerning the Marquis of Antrim.*

*C H A R L E S R.*

**R**ight trusty and well-beloved cousins and counsellors, &c. we greet you well. How far we have been from interposing on the behalf of any of our Irish subjects, who, by their miscarriages in the late rebellion in that kingdom of Ireland, had made themselves unworthy of our grace and protection, is notorious to all men; and we were so jealous in that particular, that shortly after our return into this our kingdom, when the Marquis of Antrim came hither to present his duty to us, upon the information we received from those persons who then attended us by a deputation from our kingdom of Ireland, or from those who at that time owned our authority there, that the Marquis of Antrim had so misbehaved himself towards us, and our late Royal father of blessed memory, that he was in no degree worthy of the least countenance from us,  
and



and that they had manifest and unquestionable evidence of such his guilt ; whereupon we refused to admit the said Marquis so much as into our presence, but on the contrary committed him prisoner to our tower of London ; where after he had continued several months under a strict restraint, upon the continued information of the said persons we sent him into Ireland, without interposing the least on his behalf, but left him to undergo such a trial and punishment as, by the justice of that our kingdom, should be found due to his crime ; expecting still, that some heinous matter would be objected and proved against him, to make him incapable, and to deprive him of that favour and protection from us, which we knew his former actions and services had merited. After many months attendance there, and, we presume, after such examinations as were requisite, he was at last dismissed without any censure, and without any transmission of charge against him to us, and with a licence to transport himself into this kingdom. We concluded that it was then time to give him some instance of our favour, and to remember the many services he had done, and the sufferings he had undergone for his affection and fidelity to our Royal father and ourself ; and that it was time to redeem him from those calamities, which yet do lie as heavy upon him since, as before our happy return ; and thereupon we recommended him to you, our Lieutenant, that you should move our council there, for preparing a bill to be transmitted to us, for the reinvesting him the said Marquis into the possession of his estate in that our kingdom, as had been done in some other places. To which letter, you, our said Lieutenant, returned us answer, That you had informed our council of that our letter ; and that you were, upon consideration thereof, unanimously of opinion, that such a bill ought not to be transmitted to us, the reasons whereof would forthwith be presented to us from our council. After which time we received the inclosed petition from the said Marquis ; which we referred to the consideration and examination of the Lords of our privy council, whose names are mentioned in that our reference, which is annexed

annexed to the said petition ; who thereupon met together, and, after having heard the Marquis of Antrim, did not think fit to make any report to us, till they might see and understand the reasons which induced you not to transmit the bill we had proposed ; which letter was not then come to our hands. After which time we have received your letter of the 18th of March, together with several petitions which had been presented to you, as well from the old soldiers and adventurers, as from the Lady Marchioness of Antrim : all which we likewise transmitted to the Lords referees, upon a second petition presented to us by the Lord Marquis, which is here likewise inclosed ; commanding our said referees to take the same into their serious consideration, and to hear what the petitioner had to offer in his own vindication, and to report the whole matter to us ; which, upon a third petition, herein likewise inclosed, we required them to expedite with what speed they could. By which deliberate proceedings of ours, you cannot but observe, that no importunity, how just soever, could prevail with us to bring ourself to a judgment in this affair without very ample information. Our said referees, after several meetings, and perusal of what hath been offered to them by the said Marquis, have reported unto us, That they have seen several letters, all of them of the hand-writing of our Royal father, to the said Marquis, and several instructions concerning his treating and joining with the Irish in order to the King's service, by reducing them to their obedience, and by drawing some forces from them for the service of Scotland ; that, besides the letters and orders under his Majesty's hand, they have received sufficient evidence and testimony of several private messages and directions sent from our Royal father, and from our Royal mother with the privy and with the directions of the King our father, by which they are persuaded, that whatever intelligence, correspondence, or actions, the said Marquis had with the confederate Irish Catholics, was directed or allowed by the said letters, instructions, and directions ; and that it manifestly appears to them, that the King our father was well pleased with what the

Marquis

Marquis did after he had done it, and approved the same. This being the true state of the Marquis's case, and there being nothing proved upon the first information against him, nor any thing contained against him in your letter of March 18th, but that you were informed he had put in his claim before the commissioners appointed for executing the act of settlement; and that if his innocence be such as is alledged, there is no need of transmitting such a bill to us as is desired; and that if he be nocent, it consists not with the duty which you owe to us to transmit such a bill, as, if it should pass into a law, must needs draw a great prejudice upon so many adventurers and soldiers, who are, as is alledged, to be therein concerned. We have considered the petition of the adventurers and soldiers, which was transmitted to us by you; the equity of which consists in nothing, but that they have been peaceably in possession for the space of 7 or 8 years of those lands which were formerly the estate of the Marquis of Antrim and others, who were all engaged in the late Irish rebellion, and that they shall suffer very much, and be ruined, if those lands should be taken from them. And we have likewise considered another petition from several citizens of London, near sixty in number, directed to ourself, wherein they desire, That the Marquis's estate may be made liable to the payment of his just debts, that so they may not be ruined in the favour of the present possessors, who they say are but a few citizens and soldiers, who have disbursed very small sums thereon. Upon the whole matter, no man can think we are less engaged by our declaration and by the act of settlement, to protect those who are innocent, and who have faithfully endeavoured to serve the crown, how unfortunate soever, than to expose to justice those who have been really and maliciously guilty. And therefore we cannot in justice, but, upon the petition of the Marquis of Antrim, and after a serious and strict inquisition into his actions, declare unto you, That we do find him innocent from any malice or rebellious purpose against the crown; and *that what he did by way of correspondence or compliance with*

*with the Irish rebels, was in order to the service of our Royal father, and warranted by his instructions, and the trust reposed in him; and that the benefit thereof accrued to the service of the crown, and not to the particular advantage and benefit of the Marquis. And as we cannot in justice deny him this testimony, so we require you to transmit our letter to our commissioners, that they may know our judgment in this case of the Lord of Antrim, and proceed accordingly. And so we bid you heartily farewell.*

Given at our court of Whitehall, July 10. 1663,  
in the fifteenth year of our reign.

Signet-office,

By his Majesty's command,

July 13. 1663.

HENRY BENNET.

To our right trusty and right entirely well-beloved cousin and counsellor James Duke of Ormond, our Lieutenant-General and General Governor of our kingdom of Ireland, and to the Lords of our council of that our kingdom.

*Her Majesty's letter to George Lord Digby. Paris, April 7. 1645.*

*Monsieur Digby,*

**T**Hough I received no letters from you by Pooley, I will not forbear to write to you, though it were but to reproach you; and to tell you, that I fear that you are as inconstant to your friends, as men are to their mistresses. I do not speak of you; you know, that I am too well acquainted with you. For my part, I have only this fault, to be a good friend; and I believe you know it, therefore it will not be necessary to assure you thereof. I have seen the dispatch that you sent to Jermyn concerning Hertogen. I believe that you will rest satisfied: for I have the same opinion of him that you have; and many of those things that he hath written, are lies; and within few days you shall hear, that I have talked with him according to his desert; which I am resolved to do, for some reasons that

Jermyn will write to you in cypher. You think it strange that Wilmot is so well entertained here; which is done according to the orders which I have under the King's hand and your's. It is true, his good carriage here hath merited this good entertainment. Henry Piercy and he are not so good friends as we thought; we have discovered it in some occasions, where there can be no dissembling. Concerning Tho. Elliot, he hath behaved himself well here; and hath so earnestly importuned me for his return, that, having no order from the King to tell him that he should stay, I could not keep him longer here. For my part, I believe that he is very trusty. I have charged him to impart unto you what I told him; therefore I shall not write any more, my hand being more lame than ever, and I more

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

*Dr. Goff to the Lord Jermyn. April 17.*

THE Prince of Orange was very inquisitive this week after my letters from Paris, hoping to be resolved precisely concerning the sum of the portion, as I perceived by his discourse. For that point, I gave him this answer, that the portion alone could not be of that consideration as to conclude the marriage, unless it were able to give the King such succours as might probably restore his affairs, which the sum demanded could not do; and that therefore I was ordered to assure him, that if the other articles were accorded, the treaty should not break off upon the sum of the portion. From thence we came off of the other particulars; and the resolution was this, That the affair of the Duke of Lorraine was to be pursued with all vigour, and for that end ships should be sent from hence to meet at the time prefixed; that when the ambassadors are returned, all endeavours shall be used to induce the states to a league defensive



defensive and offensive ; and that Monsieur D'Estrade shall return home fully instructed in these particulars ; that is, to remonstrate the impossibility (as they call it) of the passage for Holland, and to facilitate the other to and from Dieppe : and for the second, to persuade the sending of an ambassador from France hither, to that purpose ; which yet notwithstanding the Prince of Orange thinks will be very difficult, by reason of the King of Denmark's war, to which the Hollanders are violently carried. However, all endeavours are, and shall be used to bring them to our desires. For which end I proposed, that, in the mean time, we might at least have justice from them, and such acts of amity, as by their past alliance they were bound unto : Such as are, First, the liberty of their ports to our men of war, and the freedom of them now detained. Secondly, the liberty to sell our prizes here, as we may do in Flanders ; at least that both sides may sell in their ports. Thirdly, the dismissal of Strickland. Fourthly, the permitting of arms and money to be exported for the King, both from hence and from Dunkirk, with the denial of the same to the rebels. Fifthly, an open and public declaration of their dislike of the rebels late propositions sent to the King, according as in conscience they are bound to declare, thereby to preserve this people from the guilt of approving the rebellion in England ; that in so doing they should declare no war against the parliament, and it would be a great preparation for the work in hand. This the Prince of Orange seemed very much to approve of, and hath ordered me to prepare my papers in this kind, against the time that their ambassadors come from England ; and began to ask me concerning the design, and whether I had received any orders about it : for that, I told him I should be particularly instructed by the next post. He likes this very well, and D'Estrade shall be instructed about it. This was all that passed since the receipt of your's, besides that, for conclusion, the Prince of Orange would know, whether if the Duke should fail us, our treaty were at an end. I answered, No : for if the states would be brought to declare for the King

with shipping, and in other particulars, as should be presented to them, I did not doubt but the King would quickly subdue the rebels, which was the end we pursued in this affair. To which when he replied, with more chearfulness than has been usual of late, that all endeavours should be used, I took my leave of him, and do of your ——— There's no danger in discoursing, as you find, concerning the portion : for the conditions for the Princess must be proportionable to it ; and if other things be accorded, they will be solicitous themselves to enlarge the portion : for that end the Princess of Orange is very civil to me, and desires much the business should go on. I should be instructed what to say concerning the condition and habitation of the Princess before her going into England.

*Dr. Goff to the Lord Jermyn. April 24.*

**I** Will not doubt but that all my letters of last week are received ; and if so, your Lordship doth perceive the whole negotiation here depends upon full instructions how to proceed in the particular treaty of the marriage ; wherein the several circumstances being understood and agreed, it will quickly appear what the Prince of Orange is at, and willing to do with the states for the King's assistance ; without the actual performance whereof, it is to be declared, that the private articles shall not be signed. For this purpose, if the copies of former treaties cannot be had, it were necessary to set down particularly what houses and what dowry the Queen will prescribe for the Princess ; and for the portion, the lowest sum that must be admitted of, with the times of payment. Yet herein it cannot be prejudicial to leave much unto debate here ; it being resolved, that nothing shall be concluded, till the states do fully declare in defence of the King. Whilst their hands are busy against Denmark, (whither they are now sending sixty men of war, and six thousand foot), it cannot be expected that they should be induced

induced to supply the King with any forces presently. But yet these things following will be in their power, and may be expected from the Prince of Orange's negotiation with them, as soon as their ambassadors return: 1. To enter into a league offensive and defensive with the King against all enemies whatsoever: and though the effect hereof cannot be the present preparing and sending of forces by sea and land, yet they will be brought to it. 2. To publish a declaration of dislike of the rebels later propositions sent to the King, together with the ill usage of their ambassadors. 3. To set at liberty those ships of ours which are now detained, and to offer the liberty of their ports hereafter. 4. To permit the selling of our prizes in their ports; and for that end, such officers for the King as shall be necessary. 5. To cause arms and powder to be exported for the King, with denying the same to the rebels. 6. To give letters of reprisal to such of their own people as have been injured by the parliament. 7. To permit the King to hire or buy men of war in these countries, to set to sea against the rebels. 8. To admit of no agents from England and Scotland that are not sent by the King, and to dismiss them that pretend from the parliament of either: and, in pursuance of these points, if his Majesty please to put out of his protection all such of his subjects which dwell or trade here, as have assisted the rebellion in England, the states may proceed to such confiscation and penalties as they shall think fit, whereby the King may find a considerable profit, and they be invited to a more vigorous conjunction with him. And if this be done for the present, (France concurring in the same particulars), it is apparent, by God's blessing, that the King must needs overcome the rebels, if he can but keep his person and the Prince's out of their hands, till his friends that are joined in league with him can send more powerful assistance.

Though the portion with the Princess were as much as was demanded, and paid by several parts, as the Prince of Orange should be able, it were not possible by that to serve the King to any effect, unless these

things mentioned were together obtained, whereby London might be impoverished, which is and will be the fountain of all this mischief. And, on the other side, let the portion be never so small and ill paid; yet, if these things be done, and the King by virtue of this marriage enabled to borrow money; or by any means to appear stronger at sea than they, and at land with the same power he hath formerly done, by God's blessing, he will be quickly restored; which will give all the world full satisfaction concerning this treaty, and make the conditions honourable beyond all question. Upon these considerations, I believe your Lordship may approve what I wrote by Monsieur D'Estrade, and send some orders accordingly for proceeding in the treaty of the marriage apart from other things.

And for them, besides what I am instructed to do already with the Prince of Orange, it will be very necessary to write to Sir William Boswel, that, upon the coming of the Holland ambassadors from England, he, according to his office, be instant with the states, to perform the duties of their former alliances with the King; and that he make such other propositions to them as he shall judge fit. But when the Prince of Orange shall find matters succeed well, it will be necessary that your Lordship, in the quality of an ambassador, appear here, to make a firm and quick conclusion.

In the mean time, it is the opinion of the Prince of Orange, that the business of shipping is, without question, the sole thing which ought to be intended by the Queen; and may probably restore the King's affairs again, though the Duke of Lorrain's voyage, and the Prince of Orange's endeavours, should fail. When I wrote from Rotterdam, I was not clearly satisfied in the advantages on the King's part; and since that, the sickness of Dorp, (who is now perfectly recovered again, and fixedly disposed as he was), kept me from the particular pursuit of that argument, wherein your Lordship had just cause to be little encouraged with what I wrote before. If it be possible to provide money, it will prove an excellent design: for the whole execution is to be disposed of by the King as absolutely as  
if

if they were English ships, and the commanders English; the intention being not for P. and Q. but for the honour and service of the King: for which purpose Dorp desires to have large and particular instructions; also some person of trust and courage to be a shipboard with him, by whom he might correspond with the Queen; and that his Majesty would appoint some ports to which all prizes might be brought, and there judged; which he desires should be principally, 1. ——— and there officers of trust to be established; all which shall be particularly set down under his own hand; and, before conclusion of the matter be made, be considered by the Prince of Orange, who talks of this particular with pleasure. The condition for himself is very short, but very great, to prescribe nothing, but trust the King and Queen in that point; but for his officers, he expects liberal pay and reward, as it shall be deserved: so that, in all respects, this is to be esteemed his Majesty's Royal execution; but that the commanders and masters are strangers, and ships hired. And it is here pronounced by all that have knowledge of their Majesty's affairs, and any thoughts and endeavours for their restitution, that this is so necessary to be done, that without it all other good successes will but serve to protract the war, and not at all to procure peace; for till London be humbled, the rebels can never be reduced to reason. But I know arguments in this kind, are not so needful as prayers, that God would send some means to provide the money.

For the garter which is designed for the young Prince, it is very earnestly desired by them all, and shall be constantly worn by the Prince in that manner as in England. The Prince of Orange desires, that the King would write himself to him concerning it, as also to the states; and that it may be conferred after the same manner as it was to the P. Elector in the field, if it might, before the beleaguering of any town begun. But of these things, both Sir William Boswel, who hopes to be employed in it, and Mr. Hemfleet, will write at large.

*Lord*



*Lord Jermyn to the Lord Digby. Paris, May 19.*

**I** Wrote to you yesterday by Col. Fitzwilliam's. I conceive you will find cause to take the business that concerned him into consideration. I have sent you now a copy of Dr. Goff's dispatch out of Holland; by which you will see the state of that business reduced to this only hope, That the return of the ambassadors out of England may not only give Prince Orange a disposition to set on foot that which before he was not confident enough of his own strength to attempt, but also afford him some hopes of effecting it. Of this we shall see a sudden issue. The other advantages we expect from thence, as the ships for the D. of Lorrain, and supplies of money by the marriage, are in an estate not much to be relied on: for the business of the Duke, I much fear will away; the money of the marriage will not be considerable enough to conclude it. For that reason, it may be, we may single that advantage from the rest, even without the consideration of the marriage. So that we have no more to do, but to attend the issue of the hopes of the declaration; and, according to that, proceed, or let fall the whole business, and look after ——— as a thing to be managed according to the means we shall find here to go through with it. We shall know next week what to depend upon for the Duke of Lorrain; which failing, we shall presume our pretensions here for monies in place of that which that expedition would have cost them here. The clergy assemble next week, with whom we shall set on foot the liberty the French Queen Regent hath given us to try their inclinations for the support of the affairs of England. Trafdunk is gone from Dunkirk three weeks since, with four frigats, 6040 muskets, 2000 pair of pistols, 1200 carabines, swords, 400 shovels, 27,000 pounds of match, and 50,000 pounds of brimstone. I hope he is arrived before now. His arms were all embarked before Allen arrived there; so that I cannot assure you, that Allen will be provided with that proportion which

I sent you word would be sent to Marquis Montrose. The Queen hath sent 400 barrels of powder to Dartmouth. She hath advice of the arrival of 200 ; and hopes the other will speedily arrive. She could not get the merchants to undertake the carriage of them, without engaging herself for them, in case they were not paid in England. The Queen hath now received, as I wrote before, the King's order for shipping for the tin from time to time. Whereupon last week she gave order for 4000 pounds Sterling to be sent to Falmouth, for that proportion which she was advertised by Sir Nicholas Crisp, would be ready there at the end of May ; and hath demanded a ship of the Prince of Orange for that purpose. She had advised last week, that the ship is accorded, so that it is undoubtedly upon the way. The King's order concerning the tin was but during pleasure ; therefore pray have a care there be no change, without giving the Queen timely advice of it. Her Majesty having been served by Sir Nicholas Crisp, at her coming out of England, with affection and diligence, is desirous to make him some return ; and therefore intreats you to assist him in his affairs, as he shall present them to you, particularly for the transportation of some wools ; the proceed of which he undertakes to return in ammunition. He is also a suitor to the Queen for her recommendation to the King, to be a collector of the customs in the west, in which he had formerly a promise. Pray advise me in your next, how far the Queen may reasonably interpose in that particular. For the proposition concerning the Duke of York's going into Ireland, the Queen bids me tell you, that she cannot yet, for any reason she can discern, approve of it. The business of her Majesty's jewels is so pressing upon her, that unless in the future she be as fortunate as she hath been hitherto, she will undergo great trouble and inconvenience. That you may perceive this, I send you a short note of the parcels engaged in Holland ; for which there must be use duly paid every six months, or the jewels must be lost ; for these sums for which they are pawned for, are very inferior to their value. For this reason

reason it is most necessary to continue the tin in the Queen's hands, lest she should fail of those other means that hitherto she hath had for the discharge of these instructions ; if otherwise she finds means to do it, then all the profits of the tin will be duly accounted for to the King. Just now your letter of April the 11th, and the King's of the 10th, are come ; to which you can have no answer this week. They always come to us not under a month's time, whereas I perceive you receive ours in a fortnight. Pray rectify this if you can.

*Lord Jermyn to the Lord Digby. Paris, May 26. 1645.*

**Y**esterday I received your's of the seventeenth of April by the Portugal Ambassador ; by which you may please to observe, that all your letters by that way are still a month at least a-coming. It will be good to inquire where the stop is made. At the same time I received the King's of the thirtieth of April by Sabran ; and I mark, that by him they come still quicker. By both, and by all other concurring, I see that our affairs in England, if they had received any competent assistance from abroad, would have been in an excellent condition. That which I most lament, is the Queen's inability in the relief of Marquis Montrose ; for which I conceive she had provided, by ordering Hasdouck to furnish him out of the proportions he had provided for England. The proportions designed for him, I have mentioned in my former letters ; but Hasdouck would not obey the Queen's directions, but carried all he had provided into England : so that the Queen remaining without credit, or other means to do that work, it remains now imperfect until she be furnished with one or the other. Something she hath since attempted, but it is not to be relied on this May, that no possible things within her power shall be omitted for this purpose ; for she conceives the importance of it even beyond that

that which you have represented. Our Holland news from Scotland, which we have often, do no less than your's confirm the necessity and moment of this consideration. I send you herewithal what I had last week from Dr. Goff; by which you will perceive there is, since the return of the ambassador, some new hopes of prevailing with the states for the declaration against the rebels; which is a thing of so great concernment, that we must make it our endeavour not to frustrate the hopes of it by a sudden breaking off the treaty, and to defend ourselves against the prejudices we sustain by the expectation of the success: for that cannot be assured enough, to rely on it for great present utilities; and methinks it were a hard thing, being thus awakened in the consideration, to provide against both the inconveniences. The Duke of Lorrain hath again this last week made so many new protestations of his intentions, that the most positive commands that could be to Sir Hen. de Vic. have not prevailed with him to break off the treaty; but his troops now march, though himself do not remain at Bruxels: so that it will be impossible for any art to prolong the business beyond four or five days, but there is no hopes to be allowed to it. The businesses here to be done, which shall be carefully attended, are, that of Holland, the form I have proposed in this letter; the supply of Marquis Montrose with arms and ammunition; the West with the same, for the Prince's new levies, and for the supply of the King's and Prince Rupert's army, and the relief of Guernsey. For the Prince of Wales's army, Will. Godolphin is very solicitous; what he will be able to effect, is as doubtful as the Queen's expectation in all the other particulars; money for the King is also in her thoughts and pretensions. And now the clergy is assembled, upon which many of our hopes have depended, she will, with all the instance and care that may be, have that way attempted. We are at this time strangely solicitous for you; for there seems to be a gathering together on both sides near Oxford, like to produce some notable encounter; which cannot well be followed but with  
great

great events. God make them prosperous, and enable us here to contribute something more hereunto than our prayers.

*I am your's.*

*Your last concerning Tho. Elliot, where you seem to take notice we had not here provided according to order, is answered in my former ones ; so as I am confident you are fully satisfied in that point.*

*Lord Jermyn to the Lord Digby. Paris, June 9. 1645.*

**Y**esterday I received your's of April the twenty ninth from Oxford ; whereby I must needs observe to you, ours are received in half the time that your's are coming hither. Now you are removed from Oxford, I fear it will yet be harder for you to send to London about all things. The Queen recommends it to you. I send you here inclosed Dr. Goff's last dispatch word for word ; by that you will see the estate of that business. Sir H. de Vic. is now here, yesterday arrived, with the Duke's last demands. Tomorrow he attends Cardinal Mazarine ; and as soon as the answer is gotten, and Queen Regent's resolution in a supply of arms and ammunition we have now demanded, to which already we have some promises advanced, Petit shall be dispatched, who is staid for that end, and to return to us with some information of the state you are in ; which the last letters speak so variously of, that we are in much pain. Arms and ammunition I will be again confident we shall speedily get ; but for money, I can give no good hopes of it, although the clergy be now all together, from whom we have so many expectations. Sir Kenelm Digby is arrived at Rome, hath had audience of the Pope ; who hath given him the best reception that the first visit was capable of ; that is, the fairest promises in general that can be wished. If he may be relied on, there are good hopes of money there ; but you  
know



know he is of a sanguine family, and himself yet the melancholiest of it. He hath visited some other of the petty princes of Italy ; but they are a frugal generation. Talbot is coming from Venice, without any effect of his voyage. A man the Queen sent four months ago into Scotland to the Marquis of Montrose, this day arrived. It grieves me Hafdouck did not obey the Queen's order for his supply ; but now again that shall be suddenly attempted, I hope, with better success : yet his arrival in the west hath been very opportune for the designs of the Prince of Wales there, which I observe to you as a service solely of the Queen's ; for nothing but her commands could prevail with him to undertake this supply : therefore pray give him what help you can to get his money. Pray commend my service to Prince Rupert, and make my excuse I write not to him. By something I hear, I hope you two are good friends ; which I much rejoice at, and conjure you to do all you can to the continuance of it if it be so, and to the making of it so if it be otherwise. I rest your's.

The Queen hath written herself to the King.

You will find in Dr. Goff's letter several things desired to be sent from England, all in my judgment most material ; and therefore to be hastened to him or Sir William Boswel, with the greatest expedition that can be. He proposeth the sending of my man (Carteret being already gone to Holland with instructions for the business of the tin) to attend that in England, who may perhaps not follow the Doctor's order in coming to you for these things ; therefore I pray you, as soon as you receive this, let them be dispatched, and sent by an express to,

Your's.

*Lord Fermyn to the Lord Digby. St. Germain, August 5. 1646.*

**I** Wrote to you yesterday by the ordinary. Something I have to add by this express the Queen

sends to visit the King, and to bring her back an account of his health, and of the state of his affairs. Her resolution of sending Cockeram into Denmark, is without doubt very opportune: for, upon the conclusion of the peace with the Swedes, he cannot but be in a condition to help us; and if, as it shall be in the first place demanded, he could be prevailed with to give us such an army as might land in any place where the King hath no forces, without fearing who they meet, their descent at Scarborough or Burlington would give a new turn to all. But this is a felicity I dare not hope. That which with more assurance I look upon, which in the second place shall be solicited, would be of infinite use; that is, a small number of men, some money, arms and ammunition; and all to go to Scotland to Marquis Montrose. But the men in that case must some of them be horsemen, five hundred at least; and their horse to pass with them. This, I conceive, would enable Marquis Montrose to make his victories profitable as well as miraculous. But in the mean estate he is, for want of horse, (for all that he complains in his letter to me), and of arms and ammunition, his advantages have brought almost none to the King's affairs: for he advances not into the good parts of Scotland, nor is so considerable to the army in England, as that they have forborn, for fear of him, to leave their country exposed to him. I cannot send you by this bearer so great a volume as Cockeram's instructions would be, but you shall have them by the next. He shall have order to offer the islands that Pooley had order to offer to the King of Denmark. The winter growing on, makes me not apprehend that all our losses can bring us so soon to an end, as this summer; and the ill weather will reprieve us until either this or some other help be found out. The Queen is therefore now more industrious than ever, and hath found means to get twenty thousand pistols for

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I once wrote to you of: so that if the persons that should have undertaken it be still of the same mind, and the Prince of Orange, which we have written to know, that

that business will go forward, and may prove of great use in many considerations; but the importantest aim in it, is the insensible engaging the Hollanders in the war. Sir Kenelm Digby writes hopefully of supplies of money from Rome, but concludes nothing; the Irish troubling all our solas, until the peace be made with them. I fear all Catholic help will be drawn that way. Upon this purpose, I must tell you, with what amazement the delays of the peace in Ireland is considered here; and you leave us so ignorant of the condition of the treaty, that we know not what to say of it. Pray, by the return of this bearer, or the first likely passage, send me the state of it, their demand, the King of England's offers, and what you know of the difficulties. If yet it be not concluded, it is not like that ever it will be, by those that manage it now: and therefore it seems to me, for satisfaction of those that so much press it, of the Irish, and to satisfy this state, who are much of that opinion, and to secure our hopes at Rome, and, lastly, to put that business into a possibility of being concluded, that the proposition long since made to the King, of having the treaty made here by the Queen and Queen-Regent, were not unfitly resumed. For I am confident, the King by this means might have the peace upon better terms, and might limit the Queen by the same instructions that those that now treat are bound by. And upon this, one of these fruits would follow, that either ——— should have the peace, or the exorbitancy of their demands would be so apparent to the Queen-Regent, that we should have great advantage by that. The only thing I fear, is, that the King's party in Ireland might possibly not acquiesce in such a peace as would be fit for the King to make; and then he would have the scandal of it, (for it will be a scandalous one, that is unavoidable), without the benefit of an assistance from Ireland. To conclude, if nothing be done in Ireland, I think it most necessary, that the offers of treating be withdrawn from thence; and that the Queen may be trusted to treat and conclude with the Queen-Regent here, with such as the Catholics from Ireland

shall appoint. This I write to you to consider of it; by the return of Sir D. Wyat you shall know more of this particular. This bearer send back immediately; and write, without flattering yourself or us, the pure and natural state of affairs. God of heaven keep you, and give us, if he please, some other punishment for our faults, than that of our countries falling into the hands of the rebels. I am most entirely your's.

I have given Petit thirty pounds for his journey.

*The accompt.*

<b>B</b> orrowed at Rotterd. of the Burgomasters,	400000
More of the bank in Rotterdam,	25000
	<hr/>
In all from Rotterdam,	425000

Borrowed of the bank at Amsterdam by Mr.	
Sandys,	84500
At the Hague, of Fletcher e l f t c h e r,	126000
More of him,	40000
At the Hague, of Van Cyren, by Sir W. Boswel,	9000
Of Monsieur Despernon,	230000
Of Webster, by three obligations together on	
the pendant pearls,	100000
Of him more,	43200
Of him more, and borrowed by him since,	70000
Of Monsieur Vicford,	70000
Of Sir Charles Herbert,	20000
Of Collimore, at Antwerp,	64000
	<hr/>

In all, guilders, 1281700

With Webster the six rubies of the chain, left	
for about	20000
To Webster,	20000
To the Prince Orange,	300000

Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved servant,  
Daniel O Neal, Groom of our Bedchamber, 27  
June 1645.

**Y**O U are forthwith to repair unto our ports of Dartmouth and Falmouth; where you are to confer with Sir Nicholas Crisp, Knight, and with Captain Hasdouce, or any other owners of ships or frigats in our service. You are to let them know, that whereas, by a clause in their severall commissions, they are obliged, upon extraordinary occasions of our service, to employ their frigats for six weeks time, according to our special command, we giving them just payment and satisfaction for the time of their ships, during the time that they are so employed by us; we having now at this time such an occasion for them as doth highly import the good of our affairs, we do require them to have in readinesse to expectt our orders, all such ships or frigats as can within a fortnight or three weeks time be set to sea, for a month or six weeks service; and that, for the present, they do send immediately with you over into Ireland, unto such ports as you shall direct, all such frigats as are now fitted and ready there, into Ireland, to expectt and obey such orders as they shall receive from the Marquis of Ormond; we assuring the owners of the said vessels, that they shall not only receive full satisfaction for the time that they shall be withdrawn from their own employments by this our command, but that we shall carry the same in mind as the most acceptable and important service that they can possibly do us. And we do further command you, that in case you shall find that more of the said frigats than one cannot within very few days be ready, that you make use of the nimblest vessel you can there find; and that, whilst the others are preparing, you forthwith transport yourself with all diligence unto the Marquis of Ormond, there to pursue such further directions as we here give you; having first advertised us by expressees what we may rely on, and when, concerning the shipping aforesaid expected for our service.

You are likewise to represent unto the Marquis of Ormond, the great importance to the good of our affairs, that



we be speedily supplied from our kingdom of Ireland, with some good number of foot; that we should be very glad you could frame such a body there to be sent over, as might be worthy his own coming to command it; in which case when we hear from him, we shall give him our further directions; but for the present, that no time must be lost in sending over what numbers can be spared of our old English army there, as well as what may be procured of the Irish, together with the best artillery, as well for battery as the field, that the said Marquis of Ormond can assist us withal.

You are to acquaint the said Marquis of Ormond, with the diligence used here to procure shipping for their transportation, and what may be relied on of that kind from hence.

You are to employ yourself in soliciting what aids of all kinds may possibly be had from the Irish, according as you shall be instructed from the Marquis of Ormond; and what by his appointment you shall promise or engage in our name, by way of invitation or encouragement to our service, unto any in that kingdom, we shall be careful to make good. But in this, and all things else of your negotiation there, you are strictly and punctually to govern yourself by such directions as you shall receive from the said Marquis of Ormond, and no otherwise. Of all this, and what we may expect from thence, and when, you are to give the speediest and punctuallest accounts you can unto our Principal Secretary of State attending.

*From the Lord Digby to the Lord Jermyn.*

**S**INCE the writing of my other of this same date in my brother Secretary's cypher, I have received your's of the 28th of July in my new cypher; which overjoys me; and it is as a prediction of good fortune to us, that the Queen bears our disasters with that moderation. You do now find that clearly true which was my opinion before, that our ill successes would sooner warm that state to our assistance, than our good; it being their interest to balance things here.

For

For God's sake, hasten powder and match in plenty to the northern coast, and what muskets and pistols you can, but ammunition in the first place: let them be directed to Burlington or Whitby, for Scarborough is lost; but yet with some caution, as to inquire before they put in, lest by any accident the enemy should have garrisoned those places before we come thither.

We are advertised from London, that there are some letters intercepted from the Queen to the King, with blanks to be signed by the King, authorising the Queen to engage Ireland to the Queen-Regent for some aids. If any such there be, it is very unlucky, not only for the ill use may be made of it here, but as it may be resented by my Lord of Ormond; who, having committed to him the management of the affairs of Ireland, and having discharged that trust so faithfully and prudently, may think himself injured in such negotiations by the by. God keep you, and fail not to love him who is entirely

Bridgenorth,  
Aug. 9.

Your's.

*The Lord Fermyn to the Lord George Digby. St. Germain, Aug. 25.*

WE have received nothing this week from you, but find by other advertisements the King is still in Wales recruiting his army. I see no danger of perishing before the winter comes in to our relief, at least, if our own party be not totally forsaken of their hearts and hands: for if there remain among them either understanding or courage, they will perceive how ill a bargain they must make with their enemies at this time, if they fall into their hands by any way whatsoever. I am now most confident, if we hold out till next spring, betwixt this and that we shall find powerful succours. The design of ——— of which I have often written to you, may now, in my judgment, be reckoned upon: for we have the money ready, the persons

persons of the same mind, and all the difficulties raised that be in the way, and the business in as good advance as was possible. Since we got the money, there is a good reason to expect, that within two months (they are promised sooner) we shall have ————. This in itself may prove a great thing : but it is considered how it looks upon the condition of our affairs, that are very unlike to *receive* new life but by a foreign assistance ; which reasonably is not to be hoped, without securing their passage. Nothing, sure, can appear so necessary for us ; therefore pray take great care, that there be no delay in the dispatch of all things belonging to it, when there shall be recourse to you in that behalf. I omit to tell you more particulars of this business, both in what estate it is, and how it hath been retarded ; but weekly now you shall be advertised. I hear there is some stop in the treaty between Denmark and the Swedes ; so that, I fear, will frustrate Cockeram's negotiation, of which else I should hope very well. The arms that went from hence to the Marquis of Montrose, are arrived at Hamborough, and I hope are reimbarked from thence ; Cockeram would have them go that way. We have no news yet of those sent to him from Holland. What we are to expect from \* hence as towards a considerable succour, (I mean of a body of men), is to be attended until the end of their campaign : for I confess I am so far abused in the business, as to believe it is equally hard to say we shall obtain no such thing, as to assure it now : for without doubt there is no desire here to see the monarchy of England devolve into another government, and there is as little doubt that there are strong inclinations for the persons of the King and Queen, and desire to contribute to their re-establishment ; yet the humbling of the house of Austria, the beating them during the war, or making a glorious peace, I confess, are passions that prevail more ; and it is no wonder. In the mean time we receive great courtesies. The Queen is most civilly and kindly used in all ; her

\* France.

pension duly paid; 12,000 pistols they gave lately for the arms for the Marquis Montrose, and the powder should be sent into the west; 10,000 more they have now given for the ships, which design is infinitely approved by them; and I doubt not but they will give the other 10,000, that the setting them forth will come to; if they should fail, it will be otherwise provided. The Queen of England hath given us a sharp alarm of another distemper like her last; but the fear is vanished almost after three fits; but being young in apprehension of the third, she dares not write herself. I am entirely your's.

Pray send me word whether the barony passed to Mr. Hemflet be an English barony, and to descend upon his son by my Lady Stanhope; if not, you are to move the King for the barony of Wotton for that son. This is a business in which the Queen was engaged in Holland, upon the important services she received from Hemflet, and she will be very earnest with the King to have done. Pray send an answer to this.

Let the business of the fleet be kept with all secrecy.

*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker of the Honourable house of Commons.*

*S I R,*

**T**Hese inclosed letters being brought to my hands by divine providence, I held it my duty to speed to you, because of the great importance of them, and to acquaint you how I came by them.

Having some dragoons at Padstow, a packet-boat from Ireland came into the harbour. The dragoons presently endeavoured to board her; and, after some small resistance, wherein the Captain and the Master of the vessel were slain, they entered, seizing upon Captain Allen. The said Allen threw a packet and divers loose letters over-board, of which only those inclosed were recovered. I shall send Allen with all convenient speed up to you, whose examination you have  
also

also herewith inclosed. I find him to be a dangerous and subtle man. I believe he hath much in his breast which may be got out of him, by reason he is obnoxious as a spy; and a man, I perceive, loves his life so well, that good use may be made thereof, to discover by further examination what we have not an opportunity to do here, but yet may be worthy of your knowledge: for it appears by some of the letters, that he hath much intrusted by the Earl of Glamorgan to him, to give a verbal account of. I have given Captain Moulton, who is upon the Irish seas, advertisement of the enemy's intentions. To say no more, you will perceive by the date of the Earl of Glamorgan's letters, that he hath the honour, trust, and liberty of a very good and loyal subject. I suppose you will see by these letters, what reason there is to hasten recruits with effect; which I must withal represent to be the more needful, in regard of the diminution which cannot but attend these marches, and that hardship the army hath been put to, in such a country and at such a season. I must acknowledge your provisions for this army to be very great, and the committee of the army's care, in observing your appointments therein, to be answerable. I desire I may faithfully improve your favours, as becomes an honest man, to the glory of God, and your service; and rest

Your most humble servant,

Bodmyn, March 7.  
1645.

T. FAIRFAX.

*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Honourable house of Commons.*

*S I R,*

**I**N my last, which was but yesterday by the post, I gave you an account of the agreement made for the delivery up of Mount-Edgcomb, and the disbanding of the regiments raised in those parts, and of the coming of Mr. Coriton and divers other Gentlemen of quality; which



which is every day more apparent than other, by their hourly sending to the General to be received into the protection of the parliament, which is now in some measure made known to the county, who had this day a meeting upon Bodmyn-downs. It was but yesterday they had notice, and one hundred of the four had not the notice come to them, yet about eight hundred or nine hundred appeared. And now for the occasion the meeting was desired; which was for this purpose, to let them know the army was come to protect them, not to ruin them; that the soldiers, horse and foot, had charge to defray their quarters; that if any soldier offered violence unto them, upon complaint it should be redressed; that the Gentlemen of the county, naming such and such persons, were come into the parliament; which did very much encourage the commonalty, to be the more forward to hearken to what might be for the service of the public, and defence of their own county. And that which wrought the impression deepest upon their hearts, was Mr P.'s publishing to them the packets taken in the Irish vessel, which I mentioned unto you in the last letter; which he not only shewed unto them, but read the same, and permitted such of them as desired it to read them; and told them they should have copies of Glamorgan's articles, and his other letters, if they desired them; which abundantly gave them satisfaction: and that which put it out of doubt, was, that the ship and packets were seized on, and taken by the assistance of the inhabitants at Padstow, within their own county but the day before. And indeed it was a very seasonable and remarkable accident as could have happened for the uniting of this county to the parliament; for the very thoughts of Irish and French are hateful unto them. Those letters that were most considerable, miscarried in the water; which was the Earl of Glamorgan's to the Prince, Sir Edward Hyde, and to another; which Capt. Allen, an Irish Papist, and merchant of Waterford, confesseth he had from the hands of the Earl of Glamorgan to deliver as aforesaid. Upon his examination, he said further, that the three hundred Irish

rish desired for the Prince's life-guard, were to be thus disposed; an hundred to be put into the Mount, an hundred to Pendennis, and the other hundred to be a guard to the Prince. The General hath sent post to Capt. Moulton, Admiral of the Irish coasts, to give him notice in what forwardness the Irish were to be transported, that they may keep out ships at sea for prevention. The trumpet that went with the summons to the Lord Hopton, is not yet returned. To-morrow early the whole army, horse and foot, advances towards Truro: all passes, by-lanes, and fords being for the most part barricadoed or blocked up; so that if the enemy should slip by, (which we no ways fear), their marches will be so slow, that their rear will be engaged before they get half through the passage. Before this come to your hands, without peradventure the business will be very near decided by a treaty, or retreat into the sea. There came seven or eight of the Prince's servants this day for passes to go home, much lamenting the sudden carrying the Prince on shipboard when they dreamed not of it. At Foy we took thirteen pieces of ordnance mounted, besides arms and powder. The first night the town stood upon their guard; but the next morning repented of their folly, and without dispute admitted our forces to come in. Be pleased to hasten down monies to the army, and match and powder with all speed to Lime; neither of these will admit of delay: and hasten recruits, that they may meet us when we face about.

Your most humble and

Bodmyn, March 6.

II at night.

faithful servant,

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

*The examination of Allen is sent up by this bearer, who can inform you more of the carriage of the man. I hope the bearer will come safe with the letters: he is enjoined to have great care; he comes far with such a trust.*

*The*

*The treaty concluded with the Irish rebels by the Earl of Glamorgan.*

**W**Hereas much time hath been spent in meetings and debates betwixt his Excellency James Lord Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant and General Governor of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, Commissioner to his Most Excellent Majesty, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. for the treating and concluding of a peace in the said kingdom, with his Majesty's humble and loyal subjects, the confederate Roman Catholics of the said kingdom of Ireland, of the one part; and the Right Honourable Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, and other commissioners deputed and authorised by the said confederate Roman Catholic subjects, of the other part; and thereupon many difficulties did arise, by occasion whereof sundry matters of great weight and consequence necessarily requisite to be condescended unto by his Majesty's said commissioners, for the safety of the said confederate Roman Catholics, were not hitherto agreed upon; which retarded, and doth as yet retard the conclusion of a firm peace and settlement in the said kingdom: And whereas the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Glamorgan is intrusted and authorised by his Most Excellent Majesty, to grant and assure to the said confederate Catholic subjects further grace and favours, which the said Lord Lieutenant did not as yet, in that latitude as they expected, grant unto them; and the said Earl having seriously considered of all matters and due circumstances of the great affairs now in agitation, which is the peace and quiet of the said kingdom, and the importance thereof in order to his Majesty's service, and in relation to a peace and settlement in his other kingdoms; and here upon the place having seen the ardent desire of the said Catholics to assist his Majesty against all that do, or shall oppress his Royal right or monarchic government; and having discerned the alacrity and chearfulness of the said Catholics to embrace honourable conditions

ditions of peace, which may preserve their religion and other just interests : In pursuance therefore of his Majesty's authority under his Highness's signature Royal and signet, bearing date at Oxon, the 12th day of March in the twentieth year of his reign, granted unto the said Earl of Glamorgan, the tenor whereof is as followeth, *viz.* " Charles Rex. Charles, " by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, " France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. " To our trusty and right well-beloved cousin Edward Earl of Glamorgan, greeting. We, reposing " great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly " as under our great seal to all intents and purposes) " authorise and give you power to treat and conclude " with the confederate Roman Catholics in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity any thing be to " to be condescended unto, wherein our Lieutenant " cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at the " present publicly to own ; therefore we charge you " to proceed according to this our warrant, with all " possible secrecy ; and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself upon such valuable considerations, as " you in your judgment shall deem fit, we promise " in the word of a King and a Christian, to ratify " and perform the same that shall be granted by you, " and under your hand and seal ; the said confederate " Catholics having by their supplies testified their zeal " to our service. And this shall be in each particular " to you a sufficient warrant. Given at our court at " Oxford, under our signet and Royal signature, the " 12th day of March, in the twentieth year of our " reign, 1644. To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin Edward Earl of Glamorgan ;" It is therefore granted, accorded and agreed, by and between the said Earl of Glamorgan, for and on the behalf of his Most Excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, on the one part ; and the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Lord President of the supreme council of the said confederate Catholics, the said Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Alexander Macdonnel

Macdonnel and Nicholas Plunket, Esqs, Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, Esqs, commissioners in that behalf appointed by the said confederate Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, for and in the behalf of the said confederate Roman Catholic subjects, of the other part; in manner and form following; (that is to say,)

1. *Impri-* **I**T is granted, accorded, and agreed by *mis,* the said Earl, for and in the behalf of his Most Excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That all and every the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in the kingdom of Ireland, of whatever estate, degree, or quality soever he or they be, or shall be, shall for evermore hereafter have and enjoy, within the said kingdom, the free and public use and exercise of the said Roman Catholic religion, and of the respective functions therein.

2. *Item,* It is granted, accorded, and agreed by the said Earl, for and in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, That the said professors of the Roman Catholic religion shall hold and enjoy all and every the churches by them enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the 23d of October 1641; and all other churches in the said kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant subjects.

3. *Item,* It is granted, accorded, and agreed by the said Earl, for and in the behalf of his Most Excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That all and every the Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, of what estate, condition, degree, or quality soever, shall be free and exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy, and every of them; and that the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom shall not be punished, troubled, or molested for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective Catholic flocks, in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical.

4. *Item,* It is further granted, accorded, and agreed by



by the said Earl, for and in the behalf of his Most Excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That an act shall be passed in the next parliament to be holden in this kingdom; the tenor and purport whereof shall be as followeth, *viz.* “An act for the relief of his Majesty’s Catholic subjects of his Highness’s kingdom of Ireland. Whereas by an act made in parliament held in Dublin, the second year of the reign of the late Queen Eliz. intituled, *An act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same*; and by one other statute made in the said last mentioned parliament, intituled, *An act for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and the administration of the sacrament*, sundry mulcts, penalties, restraints and incapacities, are and have been laid upon the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom, in, for and concerning the use, profession and exercise of their religion and their functions therein, to the great prejudice, trouble and disquiet of the Roman Catholics in their liberties and estates, and the general disturbance of the whole KINGDOM: For remedy whereof, and for the better settling, increase and continuance of the peace, unity and tranquillity of this kingdom of Ireland, his Majesty, at the humble suit and request of the Lords and Commons in this present parliament assembled, is graciously pleased, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted, by the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That from and after the first day of this session of parliament, it shall and may be lawful to and for all the professors of the Roman Catholic religion, of what degree, condition, or quality soever, to have, use and enjoy the free and public exercise and profession of the said Roman Catholic religion, and of their several and respective functions therein, without incurring any mulct or penalty whatsoever, or being subject to any restraint or incapacity concerning the same; any article or clause,  
sentence

sentence or provision in the said last mentioned acts of parliament, or in any other act or acts of parliament, ordinances, law or usage to the contrary, or in any wise notwithstanding. And be it also further enacted, That neither the said statutes, nor any other statute, acts or ordinance hereafter made in your Majesty's reign, or in the reign of any of your Highness's Most Noble progenitors or ancestors, and now of force in this kingdom, nor all, nor any branch, article, clause and sentence in them or any of them contained or specified, shall be of force or validity in this realm, to extend to be construed, or adjudged to extend in any ways to inquiet, prejudice, vex or molest the professors of the said Roman Catholic religion, in their persons, lands, hereditaments or goods, for any thing, matter or cause whatsoever, touching and concerning the free and public use, exercise and enjoyings of their said religion, function, and profession. And be it also further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That your Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in the said realm of Ireland, from the first day of this session of parliament, shall be, and be taken, deemed and adjudged capable of all offices, or trust and advancement, places, degrees and dignities, and preferment whatsoever within your said realm of Ireland, any acts, statutes, usage or law to the contrary notwithstanding :” And that other acts shall be passed in the said parliament, according to the tenor of such agreement or concessions as herein are expressed ; and that in the mean time the said Roman Catholic subjects, and every of them, shall enjoy the full benefit, freedom and advantage of the said agreements and concessions, and of every of them.

5. *Item*, It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the said Earl, for and in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, That his Excellency the Lord Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authorised or to be authorised by his Majesty, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in their present possession, and continuance of the possession of their said churches, jurisdiction,

jurisdiction, or any other the matters aforesaid in these articles agreed and condescended unto by the said Earl, until his Majesty's pleasure be signified for confirming and publishing the grants and agreements hereby articulated for, and condescended unto by the said Earl.

6. *Item*, And the said Earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his Majesty's Royal word and public faith unto all and singular the professors of the said Roman Catholic religion within the said kingdom of Ireland, for the due observance and performance of all and every the articles, grants and clauses therein contained, and the concessions herein mentioned, to be performed to them.

7. *Item*, It is accorded and agreed, That the said public faith of the kingdom shall be engaged unto the said Earl, by the said commissioners of the said confederate Catholics, for sending ten thousand men to serve his Majesty, by order and public declaration of the general assembly now sitting; and that the supreme council of the said confederate Catholics shall engage themselves to bring the said number of men armed, the one half with muskets, and the other half with pikes, unto any port within this realm, at the election of the said Earl, and at such time as he shall appoint, to be by him shipped and transported to serve his Majesty in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the said Earl of Glamorgan, as Lord General of the said army: which army is to be kept together in one entire body; and all other the officers and commanders of the said army are to be named by the supreme council of the said confederate Catholics, or by such others as the general assembly of the said confederate Catholics of this kingdom shall intrust therewith. In witness whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals the 25th day of August 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of  
*John Somersset, Jeffery Barron, Robert Barry.*

*Copia*

*Copia vera collata fideliter cum originali.* Thomas Cahel, Franc. Patricius, Waterford & Lismore.

*This is a true copy of the original found in the Archbishop of Tuam's carriage; compared by us,*

ARTHUR ANNESLEY.  
ROB. KING.

*Articles of agreement made and concluded upon by and between the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Glamorgan, in pursuance, and by virtue of his Majesty's authority under his signet and Royal signature, bearing date at Oxford, the twelfth day of March, in the twentieth year of his reign, for and on the behalf of his Most Excellent Majesty, of the one part; and the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Lord President of the supreme council of the confederate Catholics of Ireland, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Alex. Macdonnel and Nicholas Plunket, Esqs, Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, Esqs, for and on the behalf of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, and the Catholic clergy of Ireland, of the other part.*

**I***Mprimis*, The said Earl doth grant, conclude, and agree, on the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to and with the said Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Alex. Macdonnel and Nicholas Plunket, Esqs, Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, Esqs, That the Roman Catholic clergy of the said kingdom shall and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every such lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments whatsoever, by them respectively enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the three and twentieth of October, one thousand six hundred forty one; and all other such lands, tenements,



nements, tithes, and hereditaments belonging to the clergy within this kingdom, other than such as are actually enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant clergy.

*Item,* It is granted, concluded, and agreed on by the said Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Donogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Alex. Macdonel, and Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, on the behalf of the confederate Roman Catholics of Ireland, That two parts in three parts to be divided of all the said lands, tithes, and hereditaments whatsoever, mentioned in the precedent article, shall, for three years next ensuing the feast of Easter, which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1646, be disposed of, and converted for and to the use of his Majesty's forces, employed or to be employed in his service; and the other third part to the use of the said clergy respectively; and so the like disposition to be renewed from three years to three years, by the said clergy during the wars.

*Item,* It is accorded and agreed by the said Earl of Glamorgan, for and in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, That his Excellency the Lord Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authorised or to be authorised by his Majesty, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in their present possession and continuance of the possession of their churches, lands, tenements, tithes, hereditaments, jurisdiction, or any other the matters aforesaid in these articles agreed and condescended to by the said Earl, until his Majesty's pleasure be signified for confirming and publishing the grants herein articulated for, and condescended unto by the said Earl.

*Item,* It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the said Earl, for and in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, That an act shall be passed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdom, according to the tenor of such agreements or concessions as herein are expressed; and that in the mean time the said clergy shall enjoy the full benefit, freedom and advantage of



of the said agreements and concessions, and every of them.

And the said Earl of Glamorgan, doth hereby engage his Majesty's Royal word and public faith unto the said Lord Viscount Mountgarret, and the rest of the said commissioners, for the due observation and performance of all and every the articles, agreements and concessions herein contained and mentioned, to be performed to the said Roman Catholic clergy, and every of them. In witness whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals, the 25th day of August, *anno Dom.* 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of *John Somerset, Jeffery Barron, Rob. Barry.*

Whereas in these articles touching the clergy-livings, the Right Honourable the Earl of Glamorgan is obliged in his Majesty's behalf to secure the concessions in these articles by act of parliament: we holding that manner of securing those grants as to the clergy-livings to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majesty, than by doing thereof, and securing those concessions otherwise as to the said livings; the said Earl undertaking and promising in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, as hereby he doth undertake to settle the said concessions, and secure them to the clergy, and their respective successors, in another secure way, other than by parliament at present, till a fit opportunity be offered for securing the same, do agree and condescend thereunto. And this instrument by his Lordship signed, was before the perfecting thereof intended to that purpose, as to the said livings, to which purpose we have mutually signed this indorsement. And it is further intended, that the Catholic clergy shall not be interrupted by parliament,

ment, or otherwise, as to the said livings, contrary to the meaning of these articles.

GLAMORGAN.

*Copia vera collata fideliter cum originali, Thomas Cashel, Fra. Patricius, Waterford & Lismore.*

*This is a true copy of the original, found in the Archbishop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us,*

ARTHUR ANNESLEY.  
ROB. KING.

**I** Edward Earl of Glamorgan, do protest and swear faithfully to acquaint the King's Most Excellent Majesty with the proceedings of this kingdom, in order to his service, and to the inearment of this nation, and punctual performance of what I have (as authorised by his Majesty) obliged myself to see performed; and in default, not to permit the army intrusted into my charge to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his Majesty, and by his Majesty be performed.

Sept. 3. 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

*Copia vera concordans de verbo ad verbum fideliter cum origin. Tho. Cashel.*

*This is a true copy of the original, found in the Archbishop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us,*

ARTHUR ANNESLEY.  
ROB. KING.

King

King CHARLES's Case:

O R,

An APPEAL to all rational men,

C O N C E R N I N G   H I S

T       R       I       A       L

I N   T H E

H I G H   C O U R T   o f   J U S T I C E.

Being, for the most part, that which was intended to have been delivered at the bar, if the King had pleaded to the charge, and put himself upon a fair trial.

W I T H

An additional opinion, concerning the death of King *James*, the loss of *Rochel*, and the blood of *Ireland*.

By *JOHN COOK*, of *Gray's-Inn*, Barrister.

Justice is an excellent virtue :

Reason is the life of the law.

Womanish pity to mourn for a tyrant,

Is a deceitful cruelty to a city.

## To the R E A D E R.

**T**HE righteous judge, whose judgment is not only inevitable, but infallible, must shortly judge me, and all that concurred to bring the capital delinquent to condign punishment; but, in the interim, I desire to be judged by all understanding men in the world, that suffer their judgments to be swayed by reason, and not biased by private interest, whether ever any man did so much deserve to die. Cain for the murder of one righteous Abel, and David for one Uriah, had been men of death, had not God pardoned them. Those thirty one kings which Joshua hanged up, and Saul's seven sons \*, which were but at the worst (as it seems to me) evil counsellors, were they not innocent, nay saints, in comparison of this man? Those that crucified Christ, did it ignorantly; for had they known him, they had not crucified the Lord of glory. The saints under the ten persecutions suffered by the hands of the Heathens; the Sicilian vespers †, the Parisian massacre of the Protestants, and the gun-powder plot, were acted and intended by Papists, out of a conceit of merit. But for a Protestant prince, styled, The defender of the faith, in a time of light, that had sworn to keep the peace, received tribute to that end, and might have had the very hearts of the people, if they could have given him them without death, (the strongest engagements); I say, for such a one so long to persecute the faithful, destroy and enslave the people by oppressing cruelties; and when Machiavel could not do it, to levy a war to that wicked end, which never any of his ancestors durst attempt; that might at any time with a word of his mouth have stopt all the bleeding veins in the three kingdoms, but would not; and for the satisfying of a base lust, caused more Protestant blood to be shed than ever was spilt, either by Rome Heathen or Antichristian: blessed God, what ugly sins lodge in their bosoms that would have had this man to live! But words are but women, proofs are men; it is reason that must be the chariot to carry men to give their concurrence to this judgment: therefore I shall deliver my thoughts to the courteous reader, as I was prepared for it if issue had been joined in the cause; but with some addition for illustration's sake, desiring excuse for the preamble, because there is some repetition in matter.

\* 2 Sam. xxi.

† In 1571.

## King CHARLES's Case.

*May it please your Lordship,*

**M**Y Lord President, and this high court, erected for the most comprehensive, impartial, and glorious piece of justice, that ever was acted and executed upon the theatre of England; for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, whom God in his wrath gave to be a King to this nation, and will, I trust, in great love, for his notorious prevarications and blood-guiltiness, take him away from us: He that hath been the original of all injustice, and the principal author of more mischiefs to the free-born people of this nation, than the best arithmetician can well enumerate, stands now to give an account of his stewardship, and to receive the good of justice, for all the evil of his injustice and cruelty. Had he ten thousand lives, they could not all satisfy for the numerous, horrid, and barbarous massacres of myriads and legions of innocent persons, which, by his commands, commissions and procurements, (or at least all the world must needs say, which he might have prevented; and he that suffers any man to be killed, when he may save his life without danger of his own, is a murderer), have been cruelly slain, and inhumanely murdered, in this renowned Albion. Anglia hath been made an Aceldama, and her younger sister Ireland a land of ire and misery; and yet this hard-hearted man, as he went out of the court down the stairs, Jan. 22. said, (as some of the guard told me, and others), That he was not troubled for any of the blood that had been shed, but for the blood of one man, (peradventure he meant Strafford). He was no more affected with a list that was brought in to Oxford of five or six thousand slain at Edgehill, than to read one of Ben Johnson's tragedies. You gentlemen royalists that fought for him, if ye had lost your lives for his sake, you see he



would have no more pitied you by his own confession, than you do a poor worm. And yet what heart but would cleave, if it were a rock; melt, if it were ice; break, if it were flint; or dissolve, if it were a diamond, to consider that so much precious Protestant blood should be shed in these three kingdoms; so many gallant, valiant men, of all sorts and conditions, to be sacrificed, and lose their lives, and many of them to die so desperately in regard of their eternal conditions; and all this merely and only for the satisfying and fulfilling of one man's sinful lust and wicked will? A good shepherd is he that lays down his life, or ventures it, to save the sheep: but for one to be so proudly wedded to his own conceits, as so maliciously to oppose his private opinion against the public judgment and reason of state, and to make head against the parliament, who acknowledged him to be head thereof, so far as to give him the honour of the Royal assent, in settling the militia and safety of the people; I say, for a Protestant prince, so beloved at home, and feared abroad, that in love, and by gentle means, might have had any thing from the parliament; for him to occasion the shedding of so much blood, for a pretended prerogative, as hereafter will appear nothing in effect but to fix and perpetuate an absolute tyranny; I can say no less, but, O Lucifer! from whence art thou fallen? and what heretics are they in politics, that would have had such a man to live? much more that think his actions to have merited love and praise from heaven and earth? But now to dissect the charge:

1. **T**Hat the Kings of England are trusted with a limited power to govern by law, the whole stream and current of legal authorities run so limpid and clear, that I should but weary those that know it already, and trouble those that need not know the particular cases: for it is one of the fundamentals of law, That the King is not above the law, but the law above the King. I could easily deraign it from 1 Edward III. to the jurisdiction of courts, that the King has no more power or authority than what by law is concredited

concredited and committed to him. But the most famous authority is Fortescue, Chancellor to Henry VI. (and therefore undoubtedly would not clip his master's prerogative); who most judicially takes a difference between a government wholly regal and feignoral; as in Turkey, Russia, France, Spain, &c.; and a government politic and mixed, where the law keeps the beam even between sovereignty and subjection; as in England, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland. The first, where the edict of a prince makes the law, resembles an impetuous inundation of the waters, whereby the corn and hay, and other fruits of the earth, are spoiled; as when it is midwinter at midsummer: the latter is like a sweet, smooth stream, running by the pleasant fields and meadows. That, by the law of England, the King ought not to impose any thing upon the people, or take any thing away from them to the value of a farthing, but by common consent in parliaments or national meetings; and that the people, of common right, and by several statutes, ought to have parliaments yearly, or oftener, if need be, for the redress of public grievances, and for the enacting of good and wholesome laws, and repealing of old statutes of Omri which are prejudicial to the nation: and that the King hath not by law so much power as a justice of peace to commit any man to prison for any offence whatsoever, because all such matters were committed to proper courts and officers of justice; and if the King by his verbal command send for any person to come before him, if the party refused to attend, and the messenger endeavouring to force him, they fell to blows; if the messenger killed the party sent for, this by the law is murder in him; but if he killed the messenger, this was justifiable in him, being in his own defence, so as to sue forth a pardon of course: these and many other cases of like nature are so clear and well known, that I will not presume to multiply particulars.

That the King took an oath at his coronation, to preserve the peace of the nation, to do justice to all, and to keep and observe the laws which the people have,

have, himself confesses. And it was charged upon the late Archbishop, that he emasculated the oath, and left out very material words, *which the people shall chuse* \*; which certainly he durst not have done, without the King's special command: and it seems to me no light presumption, that from that very day he had a design to alter and subvert the fundamental laws, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government. But though there had been no oath, yet, by special office and duty of his place, every King of England is obliged to act for the people's good: for all power, as it is originally in the people, (he must needs be extreme ignorant, malicious, or a self-destroyer, that shall deny it), so it is given forth for their preservation, nothing for their destruction: for a King to rule by lust, and not by law, is a creature that was never of God's making; not of God's approbation, but his permission. And though such men are said to be gods on earth, it is in no other sense than the devil is called the god of this world. It seems, that one passage which the King would have offered to the court, (which was not permitted him to dispute the supreme authority in the nation, and standing mute, the charge being for high treason, it is a conviction in law), was, that 1 *Sam. viii.* is a copy of the King's commission, by virtue whereof, he, as King, might rule and govern as he list; that he might take the people's sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and take their daughters to be his concubines; and take their fields and vineyards, and olive-yards, even the best of them, and their goodliest young men, and their asses, and give them to his officers, and to his servants: which indeed is a copy and pattern of an absolute tyrant, and absolute slaves, where the people have no more than the tyrant will afford them. The Holy Spirit in that chapter does not insinuate what a good King ought to do, but what a wicked King would presume to do. Besides, Saul and David had extraordinary callings; but all just power is now derived from, and conferred by the people. Yet,

\* 1. Book of ord. fol.

in the case of Saul, it is observable, that the people, out of pride to be like other nations, desired a King, and such a King as the Heathens had; which were all tyrants: for they that know any thing in history, know, that the first four monarchs were all tyrants at first, till they gained the people's consent. Nimrod the great hunter was Ninus that built Nineveh, the first tyrant and conqueror that had no title; and so were all kingdoms which are not elective, till the people's subsequent consent. And though it be by descent, yet it is a continuation of a conquest. Till the people consent, and voluntarily submit to a government, they are but slaves, and in reason they may free themselves if they can. In France the King begins his reign from the day of his coronation. The Archbishop asks the people, If he shall be King? The twelve peers, or some that personate them, say, *Yes*. They gird the sword about him; then he swears to defend the laws. And is any thing more natural than to keep an oath? And though virtuous Kings have prevailed with the people to make their crowns hereditary, yet the coronation shews the shell that the kernel hath been in. Samuel was a good judge, and there was nothing could be objected against him; therefore God was displeased at their inordinate desire of a King. And it seems to me, that the Lord declares his dislike of all such Kings as the Heathens were; that is, Kings with an unlimited power, that are not tied to laws: for he gave them a King in his wrath: therein dealing with them as the wise physician with the distempered and impatient patient, who desiring to drink wine, tells him the danger of inflammation; yet wine he will have; and the physician considering a little wine will do but little hurt, rather than his patient by fretting should take greater hurt, prescribes a little white wine; wherein the physician doth not approve his drinking of wine, but of two evils chuseth the least. The Jews would have a King for majesty and splendor, like the Heathens. God permits this, he approves it not. It seems to me, that the Lord renounces the very genus of such Kings as are there mentioned. And the old  
word

word *conning* (by contraction *King*) does not signify power or force to do what he will, but a knowing, wise, discreet man, that opens the people's eyes, and does not lead them by the noses, but govern them with wisdom and discretion for their own good. Therefore, gentlemen royalists, be not so mad as to misconstrue, either the oaths of allegiance or supremacy, or any league or covenant, that any man should swear to give any one leave to cut his throat. The true meaning is, that the King of England was supreme in this land, in opposition to the Pope, or any other prince or potentate; as the words of the oath do import, *That no foreign state, prince, or potentate, &c.* In case of any foreign invasion, the King was by law to be generalissimo, to command the people for their own safety; and so it was expounded by the parliament in 13 Eliz. which, for some reason of state, was not permitted to be printed with the statutes. Besides, God told those Kings whom he had formerly anointed what their duty was; not to exalt themselves overmuch above their brethren, to delight themselves in the law of God. Out of which I infer, that the Turks, Tartars, Muscovites, French, Spaniards, and all people that live at the beck and nod of tyrannical men, may and ought to free themselves from that tyranny, if, and when they can: for such tyrants that so domineer with a rod of iron, do not govern by God's permissive hand of approbation or benediction, but by the permissive hand of his providence, suffering them to scourge the people, for ends best known to himself, until he open a way for the people to work out their own enfranchisements.

But before I speak of the war, it will be necessary, for the satisfaction of rational men, to open and prove the King's wicked design, wherewith he stands charged. Now, that he had from the beginning of his reign such a design and endeavour, so to tear up the foundations of government that law should be no protection to any man's person or estate, will clearly appear by what follows.

- I. By his not taking the oath so fully as his predecessors



cessors did; that so, when the parliament should tender good laws to him for the Royal assent, he might readily answer, that he was not by oath obliged to confirm or corroborate the same.

2. By his dishonourable and perfidious dealing with the people at his coronation, when he set forth a proclamation, that, in regard of the infection then spread through the kingdom, he promised to dispense with those knights that by an old statute were to attend at the coronation, who were thereby required not to attend; but did, notwithstanding, within few months after take advantage of their absence, and raised a vast sum of money out of their estates at the council-table; where they pleading the said proclamation for their justification, they were answered, That the law of the land was above any proclamation: like that tyrant, that when he could not by law execute a virgin, commanded her to be deflowered, and then put to death.

3. By his altering the patents and commissions to the judges, which having heretofore had their places granted to them so long as they should behave themselves well therein, he made them but during pleasure; that so, if the judges should not declare the law to be as he would have it, he might with a wet finger remove them, and put in such as should not only say, but swear, if need were, that the law was as the King would have it. For when a man shall give five or ten thousand pounds for a judge's place during the King's pleasure, and he shall the next day send to him to know his opinion, of a difference in law between the King and a subject; and it shall be intimated unto him, that if he do not deliver his opinion for the King, he is likely to be removed out of his place the next day; which if so, he knows not how to live, but must rot in prison for the money which he borrowed to buy his place, as was well known to be some of their cases, who underhand and closely bought great places, (to elude the danger of the statute); whether this was not too heavy a temptation for the shoulders of most men to bear, is no hard matter to determine: so as, upon the matter, that very act of his made the  
King

King at the least a potential tyrant. For when that shall be law which a King shall declare himself, or which shall be declared by those whom he chuses, this brings the people to the very next step to slavery.

But that which does irrefragably prove the design, was his restless desire to destroy parliaments, or to make them useless: and for that, who knows not but that there were three or four national meetings in parliament in the first four years of his reign, which were called for supply to bring money into his coffers in point of subsidies, rather than for any benefit to the people? as may appear by the few good laws that were then made. But that which is most memorable, is the untimely dissolving of the parliament in 4 Car. when Sir John Elliot, and others, (who managed a conference with the house of Peers concerning the Duke of Buckingham, who, amongst other things, was charged concerning the death of K. James), were committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he lost his life by cruel endurance. Which I may not pass over without a special animadversion: for sure there is no Turk or Heathen but will say, that if he were any way guilty of his father's death, let him die for it.

I would not willingly be so injurious to the honest reader, as to make him buy that again which he had formerly met with in the parliament's declaration or elsewhere; in such a case a marginal reference may be sufficient. Nor would I herein be so presumptuous, as to prevent any thing that happily may be intended in any declaration for more general satisfaction, but humbly offer a student's mite, which satisfies myself, with submission to better judgments.

How the King first came to the crown, God and his own conscience best knew. It was well known and observed at court, that a little before he was a professed enemy to the Duke of Buckingham; but instantly upon the death of K. James, took him into such special protection, grace and favour, that upon the matter he divided the kingdom with him. And when the Earl of Bristol had exhibited a charge against the said Duke, the 13th article whereof concerned the  
death

death of K. James ; he instantly dissolved that parliament, that so he might protect the Duke from the justice thereof; and would never suffer any legal inquiry to be made for his father's death. The Rabbins observe, that that which stuck most with Abraham about God's command to sacrifice Isaac, was this : " Can I " not be obedient, unless I be unnatural ? What will " the Heathens say, when they hear I have killed my " only son ? " What will an Indian say to this case ? A King hath all power in his hands to do justice ; there is one accused, upon strong presumptions at the least, for poisoning that King's father ; the King protects him from justice : whether do you believe that himself had any hand in his father's death ? Had the Duke been accused for the death of a beggar, he ought not to have protected him from a judicial trial. We know, that by law it is no less than misprision of treason to conceal a treason ; and to conceal a murder, strongly implies a guilt thereof, and makes him a kind of accessory to the fact. He that hath no nature to do justice to his own father, could it ever be expected that he should do justice to others ? Was he fit to continue a father to the people, who was without natural affection to his own father ? Will he love a kingdom, that shewed no love to himself, unless it was that he durst not suffer inquisition to be made for it ? But I leave it as a riddle, which at the day of judgment will be expounded and unriddled ; for some sins will not be made manifest till that day : with this only, that had he made the law of God his delight, and studied therein night and day, as God commanded his kings to do ; or had he but studied scripture half so much as Ben Johnson or Shakespear, he might have learned, that when Amaziah was settled in the kingdom, he suddenly did justice upon those servants which had killed his father Joash \* : he did not by any pretended prerogative excuse or protect them, but delivered them up into the hands of that justice which the horridness of the fact did undoubtedly demerit.

That parliament † 4 Car. proving so abortive, the

\* 2 Kings xii. 20. & xiv. 1. 5.

† 27 Mar.

King sets forth a proclamation †, that none should presume to move him to call parliaments ; for he knew how to raise monies enough without the help of parliaments. Therefore in twelve years he refuseth to call any. In which interval and intermission, how he had oppressed the people by incroachments and usurpations upon their liberties and properties, and what vast sums of money he had forcibly exacted and exhausted by illegal patents and monopolies of all sorts, I refer the reader to that most judicious and full *declaration of the state of the kingdom*, published in the beginning of this parliament. That judgment of ship-money did upon the matter formalize the people absolute slaves, and him an absolute tyrant : for if the King may take from the people in case of necessity, and himself shall be judge of that necessity, then cannot any man say that he is worth sixpence. For if the King say that he hath need of that sixpence, then by law he must have it ; I mean that great Nimrod, that would have made all England a forest, and the people which the Bishop calls his sheep, to be his venison to be hunted at his pleasure.

Nor does the common objection, “ That the judges  
“ and evil counsellors, and not the King, ought to  
“ be responsible for such mal-administrations, inju-  
“ stice, and oppression,” bear the weight of a feather in the balance of right reason. For, 1. Who made such wicked and corrupt judges ? were they not his own creatures ? and ought not every man to be accountable for the works of his own hands ? He that does not hinder the doing of evil, if it lies in his power to prevent it, is guilty of it as a commander thereof. He that suffered those black stars to inflict such barbarous cruelties, and unheard-of punishments, as branding, flitting of noses, &c. upon honest men, to the dishonour of the Protestant religion, and disgrace of the image of God shining in the face of man, he well deserved to have been so served. But, 2. He had the benefit of those illegal fines and judgments. I agree, that if a judge shall oppress I. S. for the be-

nefit of I. D. the King ought not to answer for this, but the judge, unless he protect the judge against the complaint of I. S. ; and in that case he makes himself guilty of it. But when an unjust judgment is given against I. S. for the King's benefit, and the fine to come immediately into his coffers, he that receives the money, must needs be presumed to consent to the judgment. But, 3. Mark a Machiavel policy : " Call  
 " no parliaments to question the injustice and cor-  
 " ruption of judges for the people's relief, and make  
 " your own judges, and let that be law that they de-  
 " clare ; whether it be reasonable or unreasonable, it  
 " is no matter."

But then, how came it to pass that we had any more parliaments ? Had we not a gracious King to call a parliament when there was so much need of it, and to pass so many gracious acts to put down the Star-chamber, &c. ? Nothing less. It was not any voluntary free act of grace, not the least ingredient or tincture of love or good affection to the people, that called the short parliament in 1640 ; but to serve his own turn against the Scots, whom he then had designed to enslave. And those seven acts of grace which the King passed, were no more than his duty to do, nor half so much, but giving the people a taste of their own grists ; and he dissents with them about the militia, which commanded all the rest. He never intended thereby any more good and security to the people, than he that stealing the goose, leaves the feathers behind him. But to answer the question, thus it was :

The King being wholly given up to be led by the counsels of a Jesuited party, who endeavoured to throw a bone of dissension among us, that they might cast in their net into our troubled waters, and catch more fish : for St Peter's see persuaded the King to set up a new form of prayer in Scotland, and laid the bait so cunningly, that, whether they saw it or not, they were undone : if they saw the mystery of iniquity couched in it, they would resist, and so merit punishment for rebelling ; if they swallowed it, it would make way for worse. Well, they saw the poison, and refused to



taste it : the King makes war ; and many that loved honour and wealth more than God, assisted him. Down he went with an army, but his treasure wasted in a short time. Fight they would not, for fear of an after reckoning. Some commanders propound, that they should make their demands ; and the King grants all, comes back to London, and burns the pacification, saying it was counterfeit. They re-assume their forts ; he raises a second war against them, and was necessitated to call a parliament, offering to lay down ship-money for twelve subsidies. They refuse. The King in high displeasure breaks off the parliament, and in a declaration commands them not to think of any more parliaments, for he would never call another.

There was a King of Egypt that cruelly oppressed the people. They (poor slaves) complaining to one another ; he feared a rising, and commanded that none should complain upon pain of cruel death. Spies being abroad, they often met, but durst not speak, but parted with tears in their eyes ; which declared, that they had more to utter, but durst not. This struck him to greater fears. He commanded, that none should look upon one another's eyes at parting. Therefore their griefs being too great to be smothered, they fetched a deep sigh when they parted ; which moved them so to compassionate one another's wrongs, that they ran in and killed the tyrant. The long hatching Irish treason was now ripe ; and therefore it was necessary that England and Scotland should be in combustion, lest we might help the Irish Protestants. Well, the Scots get Newcastle. He knew they would trust him no more, he had so often broke with them ; therefore no hopes to get them out by a treaty. Many lords and the city petition for a parliament. The King was at such a necessity, that yield he must to that which he most abhorred. God had brought him to such a strait, he that a few months before assumed the power of God, commanding men not to think of parliaments, to restrain the free thoughts of the heart of man, was constrained to call one : which they knew he would break off when the Scots were sent home ; therefore

therefore got a confirmation of it, that he should not dissolve it without the consent of both houses, of which he had no hopes, or by force, which he suddenly attempted; and the English army in the north was to have come up to confound the parliament, and this rebellious and disloyal city, as the King called it, and for their pains was promised thirty thousand pounds, and the plunder; as by the examinations of Colonel Goring, Legge, &c. doth more fully appear.

And here, by the way, I cannot but commend the city-malignants. He calls them rebels; they call him a gracious King: he by his proclamation at Oxford prohibits all commerce and intercourse of trade between this populous city, (the life and interest whereof consists in trade, without which many thousands cannot subsist), and other parts of the kingdom; still they do good against evil, and petitioning him so often to cut their throats, are troubled at nothing so much, as that they are not reduced to that former and a worse bondage than when there was a Lord Warden made in the city \*, and the King sent for as much of their estates as he pleased. But surely the Oxfordshire men are more to be commended: for when the King had commanded by his proclamation †, that what corn, hay, and other provision, in the county of Oxford, could not be fetched into the said city for his garrison, should be consumed and destroyed by fire, for fear it should fall into the hands of the parliament's friends; a cruelty not to be paralleled by an Infidel, Heathen, or Pagan King, nor to be preceded amongst the most avowed and professed enemies, much less from a King to his subjects; they resolved never to trust him any more.

But the great question will be, What hath been the true ground and occasion of the war? which unless I clear, and put it out of question, as the charge imports, I shall fall short of what I chiefly aim at, *viz.* "That the King set up his standard of war, for the  
" advancement and upholding of his personal inter-  
" est, power, and pretended prerogative, against the

\* Darlingrub.

† 15 April, 20 Car.

“ public interest of common right, peace and safety.” And thus I prove it.

1. He fought for the militia by sea and land, to have it at his absolute dispose, and to justify and maintain his illegal commissions of array ; and this he pretended was his birthright by the law of England : which if it were so, then might he by the same reason command all the money in the kingdom ; for he that carries the sword, will command the purse.

2. The next thing that he pretended to fight for, was his power to call parliaments when he pleased, and dissolve them when he list. If they will serve his turn, then they may sit by a law to inflave the people ; so that the people had better chuse all the courtiers and King’s favourites at first, than to trouble themselves with ludicrous elections to assemble the freeholders together, to their great labour, and expence both of time and coin ; and those which are chosen knights and burgessees, to make great preparations, to take long journies to London themselves and their attendants, to see the King and Lords in their parliament-robcs ride in state to the house, and, with Domitian, to catch flies : and no sooner shall there be any breathings, or a spirit of justice stirring and discovered in the house of Commons, but the King sends the black rod, and dissolves the parliament ; and sends them back again as wise as they were before, but not with so much money in their purses, to tell stories to the freeholders of the bravery of the King and Lords.

3. Well, but if this be too gross, and that the people begin to murmur and clamour for another parliament ; then there goes out another summons, and they meet, and sit for some time, but to as much purpose as before. For when the Commons have presented any bill for redress of a public grievance, then the King hath several games to play to make all fruitless. As, first, his own negative voice, that if Lords and Commons are both agreed, then he will advise ; which, I know not by what strange doctrine, hath been of late construed to be a plain denial, though under favour at the first it was no more but to allow him

two or three days time to consider of the equity of the law; in which time if he could not convince them of the injustice of it, then ought he by his oath and by law to consent to it.

4. But if by this means the King had contracted hard thoughts from the people, and that not only the Commons, but many of the Lords, that have the same noble blood running in their veins as those English Barons, whose swords were the chief instruments that purchased magna charta; then, that the King might be sure to put some others between him and the people's hatred, the next prerogative that he pretended to have, was, to be the sole judge of chivalry, to have the sole power of conferring honours, to make as many Lords as he pleased, that so he may be sure to have two against one, if the house of Commons (by reason of the multitude of burgesses, which he likewise pretended a power to make as many borough towns and corporations as he pleased) were not packed also. And this is that glorious privilege of the English parliaments, so much admired for just nothing. For if his pretended prerogative might stand for law, as was challenged by his adherents, never was there a purer cheat put upon any people, nor a more ready way to enslave them, than by privilege of parliament; being just such a mockery of the people, as that mock parliament at Oxford was, where the King's consent must be the figure, and the representatives stand but for a cypher.

5. But then out of parliament, the people are made to believe, that the King hath committed all justice to the judges, and distributed the execution thereof into several courts; and that the King cannot so much as imprison a man, nor impose any thing upon, nor take any thing away from the people, as by law he ought not to do. But now see what prerogative he challenges.

1. If the King have a mind to have any public-spirited man removed out of the way, this man is killed, the murderer known, a letter comes to the judge, and it may be it shall be found but man-slaughter. If  
it

it be found murder, the man is condemned: but the King grants him a pardon; which the judges will allow, if the word *murder* be in it: but because it is too gross to pardon murder, therefore the King shall grant him a lease of his life for seven years, and then renew it, (like a Bishop's lease), as he did to Maj. Prichard, who was lately justiced; who, being a servant to the Earl of Lindsey, murdered a Gentleman in Lincolnshire, and was condemned, and had a lease of his life from the King, as his own friends have credibly told me.

2. For matter of liberty: The King or any courtier sends a man to prison; if the judge set him at liberty, then put him out of his place; a temptation too heavy for those that love money and honour more than God to bear: therefore any judgment that is given between the King and a subject, it is not worth a rush; for what will not money do?

Next, He challenges a prerogative to inhance and debase money; which by law was allowed him, so far as to balance trade, and no further; that if gold went high beyond sea, it might not be cheap here, to have it all bought up, and transported: but, under colour of that, he challenges a prerogative, that the King may by proclamation make leather current, or make a sixpence go for twenty shillings, or a twenty shillings for sixpence: which, not to mention any thing of the project of farthings or brass money, he that challenges such a prerogative, is a potential tyrant; for if he may make my twelve pence in my pocket worth but two pence, what property hath any man in any thing that he enjoys?

Another prerogative pretended, was, That the King may avoid any grant, and so may cozen and cheat any man, by a law, the ground whereof is, That the King's grants shall be taken according to his intention; which, in a sober sense, I wish that all mens grants might be so construed according to their intentions, expressed by word or writing: but by this means it being hard to know what the King intended,  
his



his grants have been, like the devil's oracles, taken in any contrary sense for his own advantage.

*Rep. 1.* In the famous case of Altonwood's, there is vouched the Lord Lovel's case, that the King granted lands to the Lord Lovel and his heirs-male, not for service done, but for a valuable consideration of money paid. The patentee well hoped to have enjoyed the land, not only during his life, but that his heirs-male, at least of his body, should have likewise enjoyed it: but the judges finding, it seems, that the King was willing to keep the money, and have his land again, (for what other reason, no mortal man can fathom), resolved, that it was a void grant, and that nothing passed to the patentee. I might instance in many cases of like nature throughout all the reports, as one once made his boast, that he never made or passed any patent or charter from the crown, but he reserved one starting hole or other, and knew how to avoid it, and so merely to cozen and defraud the poor patentee. So that now put all these prerogatives together; 1. The militia by sea and land; 2. A liberty to call parliaments when he pleased, and to adjourn, prorogue or dissolve them at pleasure; 3. A negative voice, that the people cannot save themselves without him, and must cut their own throats, if commanded so to do; 4. The nomination and making of all the judges, that, upon peril of the loss of their places, must declare the law to be as he pleases; 5. A power to confer honours upon whom, and how he pleases; a covetous base wretch for five or ten thousand pounds to be courted, who deserves to be carted; 6. To pardon murderers, whom the Lord says shall not be pardoned; 7. To set the value and price of monies as he pleases; that if he be to pay ten thousand pounds, he may make leather by his proclamation to be current that day, or a five shillings to pass for twenty shillings; and if to receive so much, a twenty shillings to pass for five shillings; and, lastly, A legal theft, to avoid his own grants: I may boldly throw the gantlet, and challenge all the Machiavels in the world, to invent such an exquisite platform of tyrannical

nical domination, and such a perfect tyranny without maim or blemish, as this is, and that by a law, which is worst of all. But the truth is, these are no legal prerogatives, but usurpations, incroachments and invasions upon the people's rights and liberties; and this easily effected without any great depth of policy: for it is but being sure to call no parliaments, or make them useless, and make the judges places profitable, and place avarice upon the bench; and no doubt but the law shall sound as the King would have it. But let me thus far satisfy the ingenuous reader, that all the judges in England cannot make one case to be law that is not reason, no more than they can prove a hair to be white that is black; which if they should so declare or adjudge, it is a mere nullity: for law must be reason adjudged, where reason is the *genus*, and the judgment in some court makes the *differentia*. And I never found, that the fair hand of the common law of England ever reached out any prerogative to the King above the meanest man, but in three cases.

1. In matters of honour and pre-eminence to his person; and in matters of interest, that he should have mines royal of gold and silver, in whose land soever they were discovered; and fishes royal, as sturgeons and whales, in whose streams or water soever they were taken, which very rarely happened; or to have tithes out of a parish that no body else could challenge: for says the law, "The most noble persons" "are to have the most noble things."
2. To have his patents freed from deceit, that he be not overreached or cozened in his contracts, being employed about the great and arduous affairs of the kingdom.
3. His rights to be freed from incursion of time, not to be bound up by any statute of non-claim: for indeed possession is a vain plea, when the matter of right is in question; for right can never die: and some such honourable privileges of mending his plea, or suing in what court he will, and some such prerogatives of a middle indifferent nature, that could not be prejudicial to the people. But that the law of England should give the King any such vast, immense, precipitating

precipitating power, or any such god-like state, that he ought not to be accountable for wicked actions, or mal-administrations and mis-government, (as he hath challenged and averred in his answer to the petition of right), or any such principles of tyranny; which are as inconsistent with the people's liberties and safety, as the ark and Dagon, light and darkness, in an intensive degree, is a most vain and irrational thing to imagine. And yet that was the ground of the war, as himself often declared; and that would not have half contented him, if he had come in by the sword. But some rational men object, How can it be murder (say they) for the King to raise forces against the parliament? since there is no other way of determining differences between the King and his subjects but by the sword; for the law is no competent judge between two supreme powers: and then, if it be only a contending for each other's right, where is the malice, that makes the killing of a man murder? Take the answer thus. First, How is it possible to imagine two supreme powers in one nation? no more than two suns in one firmament. If the King be supreme, the parliament must be subordinate; if they supreme, then he subordinate. But then it is alledged, That the King challenged a power only co-ordinate; that the parliament could do nothing without him, nor he without them. Under favour, two powers co-ordinate is as absurd as the other: for though in quiet times the Commons have waited upon the King, and allowed him a negative voice in matters of less concernment, where delay could not prove dangerous to the people; yet when the Commons shall vote that the kingdom is in danger, unless the militia be so and so settled; now if he will not agree to it, they are bound in duty to do it themselves. And it is impossible to imagine, that ever any man should have the consent of the people to be their King upon other conditions; without which no man ever had right to wear the diadem; for conquest makes a title amongst wolves and bears, but not amongst men.

When the first agreement was concerning the power  
of

of parliaments, if the King should have said, Gentlemen, are you content to allow me any negative voice; that if you vote the kingdom to be in danger unless such an act pass, if I refuse to assent, shall nothing be done in that case? Surely no rational man but would have answered, May it please your Majesty, we shall use all dutiful means to procure your Royal assent; but if you still refuse, we must not sit still and see ourselves ruined; we must, and will save ourselves whether you will or no. And will any man say, that the King's power is diminished, because he cannot hurt the people; or that a man is less in health, that hath many physicians to attend him? God is omnipotent, that cannot sin, and all power is for the people's good; but a prince may not say that is for the people's good, which they say and feel to be for their hurt. And as for the malice, the law implies that: as when a thief sets upon a man to rob him, he hath no spite to the man, but love to the money; but it is an implied malice, that he will kill the people unless they will be slaves.

*Quest.* But by what law is the King condemned?

*Rep.* By the fundamental law of this kingdom, by the general law of all nations, and the unanimous consent of all rational men in the world, written in every man's heart with the pen of a diamond in capital letters, and a character so legible, that he that runs may read, *viz.* That when any man is intrusted with the sword for the protection and preservation of the people, if this man shall employ it to their destruction, which was put into his hand for their safety, by the law of that land he becomes an enemy to that people, and deserves the most exemplary and severe punishment that can be invented. And this is the first necessary fundamental law of every kingdom, which, by intrinsical rules of government, must preserve itself. And this law needed not be expressed, That if a King become a tyrant, he shall die for it; it is so naturally implied. We do not use to make laws which are for the preservation of nature, that a man should eat, and drink, and buy himself cloaths, and enjoy other natural

rural comforts; no kingdom ever made any laws for it. And as we are to defend ourselves naturally, without any written law, from hunger and cold, so from outward violence. Therefore, if a King would destroy a people, it is absurd and ridiculous to ask by what law he is to die. And this law of nature is the law of God written in the fleshly tables of mens hearts, that, like the elder sister, hath a prerogative right of power before any positive law whatsoever: and this law of nature is an indubitable legislative authority of itself, that hath a suspensive power over all human laws. If any man shall, by express covenant under hand and seal, give power to another man to kill him; this is a void contract, being destructive to humanity. And by the law of England \*, any act or agreement against the laws of God or nature, is a mere nullity: for as man hath no hand in the making of the laws of God or nature, no more hath he power to mar or alter them. If the pilot of a ship be drunk, and running upon a rock; if the passengers cannot otherwise prevent it, they may throw him into the sea to cool him. And this question hath received resolution this parliament. When the militia of an army is committed to a General, it is not with any express condition, That he shall not turn the mouths of his cannons against his own soldiers; for that is so naturally and necessarily implied, that it is needless to be expressed; inso-much as, if he did attempt or command such a thing, against the nature of his trust and place, it did *ipse facto* estate the army in a right of disobedience; unless any man be so grossly ignorant to think, that obedience binds men to cut their own throats, or their companions. Nor is this any secret of the law which hath lain hid from the beginning, and now brought out, to bring him to justice; but that which is co-natural with every man, and innate in his judgment and reason, and is as ancient as the first King. and an epidemical binding law in all nations in the world. For when many families agree, for the preservation of human society, to invest any King or Governor with power and

\* Com. E. Leicester's case.



authority ; upon the acceptance thereof, there is a mutual trust and confidence between them, That the King shall improve his power for their good, and make it his work to procure their safeties ; and they to provide for his honour ; which is done to the common-wealth in him, as the sword and ensigns of honour carried before the Lord Mayor are for the honour of the city. Now, as, when any one of this people shall compass the death of the Governor, ruling well, this is a treason punishable with death for the wrong done to the community, and anathema be to such a man : so when he or they that are trusted to fight the people's battles, and to procure their welfare, shall prevaricate, and act to the enslaving or destroying of the people, who are their liege-lords, and all governors are but the people's creatures, and the work of their hands, to be accountable as their stewards, (and is it not senseless for the vessel to ask the potter by what law he calls it to account ?) ; this is high treason with a witness, and far more transcendent than in the former case ; because the King was paid for his service ; and the dignity of the person does increase the offence. For a great man of noble education and knowledge to betray so great a trust, and abuse so much love as the parliament shewed to the King, by petitioning him as good subjects, praying for him as good Christians, advising him as good counsellors, and treating with him as the great counsel of the kingdom, with such infinite care and tenderness of his honour, (a course which God's people did not take with Rehoboam ; they never petitioned him, but advised him ; he refused their counsel, and hearkened to young counsellors, and they cry, *To thy tents, O Israel*, and made quick and short work of it) ; after all this, and much more longanimity and patience (which God exercises towards man to bring him to repentance) from the lord to the servant ; for him not only to set up a standard of war in defiance of his dread sovereign the people, (for so they truly were in nature, though names have befooled us), but to persist so many years in such cruel persecutions, who with a word of his mouth might have made

made a peace : if ever there were so superlative a treason, let the Indians judge ; and whosoever shall break and violate such a trust and confidence, anathema Maranatha be unto them.

*Quest.* But why was there not a written law, to make it treason for the King to destroy the people, as well as for a man to compass the King's death ?

*Resp.* Because our ancestors did never imagine, that any King of England would have been so desperately mad, as to levy a war against the parliament and people. As in the common instance of parricide, the Romans made no law against him that should kill his father ; thinking no child would be so unnatural, to be the death of him who was the author of his life : but when a child came to be accused for a murder, there was a more cruel punishment inflicted, than for other homicides : for he was thrown into the sea in a great leather barrel, with a dog, a jackanapes, a cock, and a viper, significant companions for him, to be deprived of all the elements, as in my *Poor man's case*, fol. 10. Nor was there any law made against parents that should kill their children ; yet if any man was so unnatural, he had an exemplary punishment.

*Obj.* But is it not a maxim in law, *That the King can do no wrong* ?

*Resp.* For any man to say so, is blasphemy against the great God of truth and love : for only God cannot err ; because what he wills is right, because he wills it. And it is a sad thing to consider how learned men, for unworthy ends, should use such art to subdue the people, by transportation of their senses, as to make them believe that the law is, *That the King can do no wrong.*

I. For law, I do aver it with confidence, but in all humility, that there is no such case to be found in law, that if the King rob, or murder, or commit such horrid extravagancies, that it is no wrong. Indeed the case is put in Hen. VII. by a chief judge, that " if the King kill a man, it is no felony to make him suffer death ; " that is to be meant in ordinary courts of justice : but there is no doubt but the par-

liament might try the King, or appoint others to judge him for it. We find cases in law, that the King had been sued even in civil actions.

In 43 Edw. III. 22. it is resolved, That all manner of actions did lie against the King, as against any Lord. And 24 Edw. III. 23. Wilby, a learned judge, said, That there was a writ *Præcipe Henrico Regi Angliæ*.

Indeed Edw. I. did make an act of state, "That men should sue to him by petition;" but this was not agreed unto in parliament, "Thelwall title roye digest of writs," 71. But after, when judges places grew great, the judges and bitesheeps began to sing lullaby, and speak Platentia to the King, that "My Lord the King is an angel of light." Now, angels are not responsible to men, but God; therefore not kings. And the judges, they begin to make the King a God, and say, That by law his style is *Sacred Majesty*, though he swears every hour; and *Gracious Majesty*, though gracious men be the chief objects of his hatred; and that the King hath an omnipotency and omnipresence.

But I am sure there is no case in law, that if the King levy a war against the parliament and people, that it is not treason. Possibly that case in Hen. VII. may prove, that if the King should in his passion kill a man, this shall not be felony to take away the King's life: for the inconveniency may be greater to the people, by putting a King to death for one offence and miscarriage, than the execution of justice upon him can advantage them. But what is this to a levying of war against a parliament? Never any judge was so devoid of understanding, that he denied that to be treason. But suppose a judge that held his place at the King's pleasure did so, I am sure never any parliament said so. But what if there had, in dark times of Popery, been an act made, That the King might murder, ravish, burn, and perpetrate all mischiefs, and play reaks with impunity, will any man that hath but wit enough to measure an ell of cloth, or to tell twenty, say, That this is an obligation for men to stand still,

still, and suffer a monster to cut their throats, and grant commission to rob at Suters-hill? As such, and no better are all legal thefts and oppressions. The Doctor says, That a statute against giving an alms to a poor man is void. He is no student, I mean, was never bound apprentice to Reason, that says, A King cannot commit treason against the people.

*Obj.* But are there not negative words in the statute of 25 Edw. III. That nothing else shall be construed to be treason but what is there expressed?

*Resp.* That statute was intended for the people's safety, that the King's judges should not make traitors by the dozens to gratify the King or courtiers; but it was never meant, to give liberty to the King to destroy the people. And though it be said, That the King and parliament only may declare treason; yet, no doubt, if the King will neglect his duty, it may be so declared without him: for when many are obliged to do any service, if some of them fail, the rest must do it.

*Obj.* But is there any precedent, that ever any man was put to death that did not offend against some written law? for where there is no law, there is no transgression.

*Resp.* It is very true, where there is neither law of God, nor nature, nor positive law, there can be no transgression; and therefore that scripture is much abused to apply it only to laws positive. For,

1. *Ad ea quæ frequentius*, &c. It is out of the sphere of all earthly lawgivers to comprehend and express all particular cases that may possibly happen, but such as are of most frequent concurrence; particulars being different, like the several faces of men different from one another; else laws would be too tedious: and as particulars occur, rational men will reduce them to general reasons of state, so as every thing may be adjudged for the good of the community.

2. The law of England is, *Lex non scripta*; and we have a direction in the epistle to the 3d Rep. That when our law books are silent, we must repair to the law of nature and reason. Holinshed, and other histo-

rians, tell us, That in 20 Hen. VIII. the Lord Hungerford was executed for buggery, for which there was then no positive law to make it felony : and before any statute against witchcraft, many witches have been hanged in England, because it is death by God's law. If any Italian mountebank should come over hither, and give any man poison that should lie in his body above a year and a day and then kill him, (as it is reported they can give a man poison that shall consume the body in three years), will any make scruple or question to hang up such a rascal ? At Naples, the great treasurer of corn being intrusted with many thousand quarters at three shillings the bushel, for the common good, finding an opportunity to sell it for five shillings the bushel to foreign merchants, enriched himself exceedingly thereby ; and corn growing suddenly dear, the council called him to account for it ; who profered to allow three shillings for it, as it was delivered into his custody, and hoped thereby to escape ; but for so great a breach of trust, nothing would content the people but to have him hanged : and though there was no positive law for it, to make it treason ; yet it was resolved by the best politicians, that it was treason to break so great a trust by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom ; and that for so great an offence he ought to die, that durst presume to enrich himself by that which might indanger the lives of so many citizens : for as society is natural, so governors must of necessity, and in all reason, provide for the preservation and sustenance of the meanest member, he that is but as the little toe of the body-politic.

But I know the ingenuous reader desires to hear something concerning Ireland, where there were no less than 152,000 men, women, and children, most barbarously and satanically murdered in the first four months of the rebellion ; as appeared by substantial proofs, at the king's bench, at the trial of Macquire. If the King had a hand, or but a little finger in that massacre, every man will say, Let him die the death. But how shall we be assured of that ? How can we know the tree better than by its fruits ? For my own particular,



cular, I have spent many serious thoughts about it, and I desire in doubtful cases to give charity the upper hand; but I cannot in my conscience acquit him of it. Many strong presumptions, and several oaths of honest men, that have seen the King's commission for it, cannot but amount to a clear proof. If I meet a man running down stairs with a bloody sword in his hand, and find a man stabbed in the chamber; though I did not see this man run into the body by that which I met, yet if I were of the jury, I durst not but find him guilty of the murder. And I cannot but admire, that any man should deny that for him, which he durst never deny for himself. How often was that monstrous rebellion laid in his dish? and yet he durst never absolutely deny it. Never was bear so unwillingly brought to the stake, as he was to declare against the rebels: and when he did once call them rebels, he would suffer but forty copies to be printed, and those to be sent to him sealed: and he hath since above forty times called them his subjects, and his good subjects; and sent to Ormond to give special thanks to some of these rebels, as Muskerry and Plunket, (which I am confident, by what I see of his height of spirit and undaunted resolution at his trial and since, acting the last part answerable to the former part of his life, he would rather have lost his life, than to have sent thanks to two such incarnate devils, if he had not been as guilty as themselves); questionless, if the King had not been guilty of that blood, he would have made a thousand declarations against those blood-hounds and hell-hounds, that are not to be named but with fire and brimstone, and have sent to all princes in the world for assistance against such accursed devils in the shape of men. But he durst not offend those fiends and firebrands; for if he had, I verily believe they would soon have produced his commission under his hand and seal of Scotland at Edinburgh 1641. A copy whereof is in the parliament's hands, attested by oath, dispersed by copies in Ireland, which caused the general rebellion.

*Obj.* He did not give commission to kill the English, but

but to take their forts, castles, towns, and arms, and come over and help him.

*Resp.* And is it like all this could be effected without the slaughter of the poor English? Did the King ever call them rebels, but in forty proclamations wrung out of him by force, by the parliament's importunity? murdering the Protestants was so acceptable to him; and with this limitation, that none should be published without his further directions; as appears under Nichols's hand, now in the parliament's custody. But the Scots were proclaimed rebels before they had killed a man, or had an army, and a prayer against them enjoined in all churches; but no such matter against the Irish.

Well, when the rebels were worsted in Ireland, the King makes war here to protect them; which but for his fair words had been prevented; often calling God to witness, he would as soon raise war on his own children: and men from Popish principles assist him. Well, we fought in jest, and were kept between winning and losing. The King must not be too strong, lest he revenge himself; nor the parliament too strong, for the Commons would rule all, till Naseby fight, that then the King could keep no more days of thanksgiving so well as we. Then he makes a cessation in Ireland, and many Irish came over to help him: English came over with Papists, who had scarce wiped their swords since they had killed their wives and children, and had their estates.

But this I argue, The rebels knew that the King had proclaimed them traitors, and forty copies were printed: and the first clause of an oath enjoined by the general council of rebels, was, "To bear true faith and  
"allegiance to King Charles; and by all means to  
"maintain his Royal prerogative against the Puritans  
"in the parliament of England." Now, is any man so weak in his intellectuals, as to imagine, that if the rebels had, without the King's command or consent, murdered so many Protestants, and he thereupon had really proclaimed them rebels, that they would after this have taken a new oath to have maintained his prerogative?

prerogative? No; those bloody devils had more wit than to fight in jest. If the King had once in good earnest proclaimed them rebels, they would have burnt their scabbards, and would not have styled themselves *the King and Queen's army*, as they did. And truly, that which the King said for himself, That he would have ventured himself to have gone in person into Ireland to suppress that rebellion, is but a poor argument to enforce any man's belief, that he was not guilty of the massacre: for it makes me rather think, that he had some hopes to have returned at the head of 20 or 30,000 rebels, to have destroyed this nation. For when the Earl of Leicester was sent by the parliament to subdue the rebels, did not the King hinder him from going? and were not the cloaths and provisions which were sent by the parliament, for the relief of the poor Protestants there, seized upon by his command, and his men of war, and sold or exchanged for arms and ammunition, to destroy this parliament? And does not every man know, that the rebels in Ireland gave letters of mart, for taking the parliament's ships; but freed the King's, as their very good friends? And I have often heard it credibly reported, that the King should say, That nothing more troubled him, but that there was not as much Protestant blood running in England and Scotland, as in Ireland. And when that horrid rebellion begun to break forth, how did the Papists here triumph and boast, that they hoped ere long to see London streets run down in blood? And yet I do not think that the King was a Papist, or that he designed to introduce the Pope's supremacy in spiritual things into this kingdom. But thus it was, a Jesuitical party at court was too prevalent in his councils; and some mungrel Protestants, that less hated the Papists than the Puritans, by the Queen's mediation, joined all together to destroy the Puritans; hoping that the Papists, and the Laodicean Protestants, would agree well enough together. And, lastly, if it be said, That if the King and the rebels were never fallen out, what need had Ormond to make a pacification or peace with them by the King's commission,

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under the great seal of Ireland? Truly there hath been so much dawbing, and so little plain dealing, that I wonder how there comes to be so many beggars.

Concerning the betraying of Rochel, to the inflaming of the Protestant party in France, I confess, I heard so much of it, and was so shamefully reproached for it in Geneva, and by the Protestant Ministers in France, that I could believe no less than that the King was guilty of it. I have heard fearful exclamations from the French Protestants against the King, and the late Duke of Buckingham, for the betraying of Rochel. And some of the Ministers told me ten years since, That God would be revenged of the wicked King of England, for betraying Rochel. And I have often heard Deodati say, concerning Henry IV. of France, That the Papists had his body, but the Protestants had his heart and soul; but for the King of England, The Protestants had his body, but the Papists had his heart: not that I think he did believe transubstantiation, (God forbid I should wrong the dead); but I verily believe, that he loved a Papist better than a Puritan.

The Duke of Roan, who was an honest, gallant man, and the King's godfather, would often say, That all the blood which was shed in Dauphiny, would be cast upon the King of England's score. For thus it was, the King sent a letter to the Rochellers by Sir William Breecher, to assure them, that he would assist them to the uttermost against the French King, for the liberty of their religion, conditionally, that they would not make any peace without him; and Montague was sent into Savoy, and to the Duke of Roan, to assure them from the King, that 30,000 men should be sent out of England, to assist them against the French King, in three fleets; one to land in the isle of Ree, a second in the river of Bourdeaux, and a third in Normandy. Whereupon the Duke of Roan, being General for the Protestants, not suspecting that the French durst assault him in Dauphiny, (because the King of England was ready to invade him, as he had promised), drew out his army upon disadvantage; whereupon

on the French King employed all his army in Dauphiny against the Protestants ; who were forced to retreat, and the Duke of Roan to fly to Geneva, and the Protestants to accept of peace upon very hard conditions, to stand barely at the King's devotion for their liberties, without any cautionary towns of assurance, as formerly they had ; being such a peace as the sheep make with the wolves when the dogs are dismissed. And the Protestants have ever since cried out to this very day, It is not the French King that did us wrong, for then we could have borne it ; but it was the King of England, a professed Protestant, that betrayed us. And when I have many times intreated Deodati, and others, to have a good opinion of the King, he would answer me, That we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but not to forgive our friends.

There is a French book printed about two years since, called *Memoirs du Monsieur de Roan*, where the King's horrid perfidiousness and deep dissimulation is very clearly unfolded and discovered. To instance but in some particulars, the King having solemnly engaged to the Rochellers, that he would hazard all the forces he had in his three kingdoms, rather than they should perish, did, in order thereunto, to gain credulity with them, send out eight ships to sea, commanded by Sir John Pennington, to assist the Rochellers, as was pretended ; but nothing less intended : for Pennington assisted the French King against the Rochellers ; which made Sir Ferdinando Gorge to go away with the Great Neptune, in detestation of so damnable a plot ; and the English masters and owners of ships refusing to lend their ships to destroy the Rochellers, whom with their souls they desired to relieve, Pennington in a mad spite shot at them.

Subise, being agent here in England for the French Protestants, acquainted the King how basely Pennington had dealt ; and that the English ships had mowed down the Rochel ships like grass, not only to the great danger and loss of the Rochellers, but to the eternal dishonour of this nation, scandal of our religion, and disadvantage of the general affairs of all  
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the Protestants in Christendom. The King seems to be displeased, and says, What a knave is this Pennington? But whether it was not feigned, let all the world judge. But the thing being so plain, said Subise to the King, Sir, why did the English ships assist the French King? and those that would not, were shot at by your Admiral. The French Protestants are no fools; how can I make them believe that you intend their welfare? The King was much put to it for a ready answer; but at last thus it was packed up, that the French King had a design to be revenged of Genoa for some former affront; and that the King lent him eight English ships to be employed for Genoa; and that sailing towards Genoa, they met with some of the Rochellers accidentally; and that the English did but look on, and could not help it, not having any commission to fight at that present: wherein the Rochellers might, and would have declined a sea-fight, if they had not expected our assistance. But still the poor Protestants were willing, rather to blame Pennington than the King; who, in great seeming zeal, being surety for the last peace between the French King and his Protestant subjects, sends Devick to the Duke of Roan, to assure him, that if Rochel were not speedily set at liberty, (which the French King had besieged, contrary to his agreement), he would employ his whole strength, and in his own person see it performed: which being not done, then the King sends the Duke of Buckingham to the isle of Ree, and gives new hopes of better success to Subise, commanding the Admiral and officers in the fleet, in Subise's hearing, to do nothing without his advice. But when the Duke came to land at the isle of Ree, many gallant Englishmen lost their lives, and the Duke brought back 300 tuns of corn from the Rochellers, which he had borrowed of them, pretending a necessity for the Englishmen; which was but feigned, knowing it was a city impregnable, so long as they had provision within. I confess the Rochellers were not wise to lend the Duke their corn, considering how they had been dealt with. But what a base thing was it, so to betray them,

them, and to swear unto them, that they should have corn enough sent from England before they wanted it? and for a long time, God did miraculously send them in a new kind of fish which they never had before. But when the Duke came to court, he made the honest English believe, that Rochel would suddenly be relieved; and that there was not the least danger of the loss of it. But Secretary Cook, an honest understanding gentleman, and the only friend at court to the Rochellers, labouring to improve his power to send some succour to Rochel, was suddenly sent away from court upon some sleeveless errand; or, as some say, to Portsmouth, under colour of providing corn for Rochel. But the Duke soon after went thither, and said, His life upon it, Rochel is safe enough. And the next day, Subise being at Portsmouth, he pressed the Duke of Buckingham most importunately to send relief to Rochel then or never; the Duke told him, that he had just then heard good news of the victualling of Rochel, which he was going to tell the King: which Subise making doubt of, the Duke affirmed it by an oath; and having the words in his mouth, he was stabbed by Felton, and instantly died. The poor Rochellers seeing themselves so betrayed, exclaimed of the English, and were constrained through famine to surrender the city. Yet new assurances came from the King to the Duke of Roan, that he should never be abandoned; and that he should not be dismayed nor astonished for the loss of Rochel.

But Subise spoke his mind freely at court, That the English had betrayed Rochel; and that the loss of that city was the apparent perdition and loss of thirty two places of strength from the French Protestants in Languedoc, Piedmont, and Dauphiny: therefore it was thought fit that he should have a fig given him to stop his mouth. Well, not long after, two capuchins were sent into England to kill honest Subise; and the one of them discovered the other. Subise rewarded the discoverer, and demanded justice here against the other, who was a prisoner: but, by what means you may easily imagine, that assassinate rascal, instead of being whipped, or receiving

ceiving some more severe punishment, was released, and sent back into France with money in his purse. And one of the messengers that was sent from Rochel to complain of those abominable treacheries, was taken here, and, as the Duke of Roan writes, was hanged for some pretended felony or treason. And much more to this purpose may be found in the Duke of Roan's memorials. But yet I know many wise, sober men do acquit the King from the guilt of the loss of Rochel, and lay it upon the Duke, as if it were but a loss of his reputation. They say, that the Duke of Buckingham agitated his affairs, neither for religion, nor the honour of his master; but only, to satisfy his passion in certain foolish vows which he made in France, entered upon a war; and that the business miscarried through ignorance, and for want of understanding to manage so difficult a negotiation, he being unfit to be an Admiral or a General.

I confess that for many years I was of that opinion, and thought that the King was seduced by evil counsel; and some thought, that Buckingham, and others, ruled him as a child, and durst do what they list. But certainly he was too politic and subtil a man to be swayed by any thing but his own judgment. Since Naseby letters, I ever thought him principal in all transactions of state, and the wisest about him but accessories. He never acted by any implicit faith in state-matters; the proudest of them all durst never cross him in any design when he had once resolved upon it. Is any man so soft-brained to think, that the Duke or Pennington durst betray Rochel without his command? would not he have hanged them up at their return, if they had wilfully transgressed his commands? A thousand such excuses made for him, are but like Irish quagmires, that have no solid ground or foundation in reason. He was well known to be a great student in his younger days, that his father would say, He must make him a Bishop. He had more learning and dexterity in state-affairs, undoubtedly, than all the kings in Christendom. If he had had grace answerable to his strong parts, he had been another Solomon; but his wit and know-  
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ledge proved like a sword in a mad-man's hand: he was a stranger to the work of grace and the Spirit of God, as the poor creature confessed to Mr Knowles after he was condemned; and all those meanders in state, his serpentine turnings and windings, have but brought him to shame and confusion. But I am fully satisfied, none of his council durst ever advise him to any thing but what they knew before he resolved to have done: and that they durst as well take a bear by the tooth, as do, or consent to the doing of any thing, but what they knew would please him. They did but hew and square the timber; he was the master-builder that gave the form to every architecture. And being so able and judicious to discern of every man's merits, never think that the Duke or Pennington, or any judge or officer, did ever any thing for his advantage, without his command, against law or honour.

Upon all which premisses, may it please your Lordship, I do humbly demand and pray the justice of this high court: and yet not I, but the innocent blood that hath been shed in the three kingdoms, demands justice against him. This blood is vocal, and cries loud; and yet speaks no better, but much louder than the blood of Abel. For what proportion hath the blood of that righteous man, to the blood of so many thousands? If King Ahab and Queen Jezebel, for the blood of one righteous Naboth, (who would not sell his inheritance for the full value), were justly put to death; what punishment does he deserve that is guilty of the blood of thousands, and fought for a pretended prerogative, that he might have any man's estate that he liked without paying for it? This blood hath long cried, "How long, parliament; how long, army, will ye forbear to avenge our blood? Will ye not do justice upon the capital author of all injustice? When will ye take the proud lion by the beard, that defies you with imperious exultations? What is the house of Commons? what is the army? (as Pharaoh said, *Who is the Lord? and who is Moses?*), I am not accountable to any power on earth." Those that were murdered at Brainford, knocked on the head in the

water, and those honest souls that were killed in cold blood at Bolton and Liverpool in Lancashire, at Barrowley in Cheshire, and many other places, their blood cries night and day for justice against him; their wives and children cry, "Justice upon the murderer, or else give us our fathers and husbands again;" nay, should the people be silent, the very stones and timber of the houses would cry for justice against him. But, my Lord, before I pray judgment, I humbly crave leave to speak to two particulars. I. Concerning the prisoner. When I consider what he was, and how many prayers have been made for him; though I know that all the world cannot restore him, nor save his life, because God will not forgive his temporal punishment; yet if God in him will be pleased to add one example more to the church of his unchangeable love to his elect in Christ, not knowing but that he may belong to the election of grace, I am troubled in my spirit in regard of his eternal condition, for fear that he should depart this life, without love and reconciliation to all those saints whom he hath scorned under the notion of Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and Sectaries. It cannot be denied, but that he hath spent all his days in unmeasurable pride; that, during his whole reign, he hath deposed himself as a God; been depended upon, and adored as God; that hath challenged and assumed an omnipotent power, an earthly omnipotence; that with the breath of his mouth hath dissolved parliaments: his *Non placet* hath made all the counsels of that supreme court to become abortives. *Non curo* hath been his motto; who, instead of being honoured as good kings ought to be, and no more, hath been idolized and adored, as our good God only ought to be: a man that hath shot all his arrows against the upright in the land, hated Christ in his members, swallowed down unrighteousness as the ox drinks water, esteemed the needy as his footstool, crushed honest public-spirited men, and grieved when he could not afflict the honest more than he did; counted it the best art and policy to suppress the righteous, and to give way to his courtiers so to gripe, grind,



grind, oppress and over-reach the free people of the land, that he might do what he list, (the remembrance whereof would pierce his soul, if he knew the preciousness of it). But all sins to an infinite mercy are equally pardonable; therefore my prayer for this poor wretch shall be, That God would so give him repentance to life, that he may believe in that Christ whom he hath imprisoned, persecuted and murdered in the saints; that he which hath lived a tyrant, and hated nothing so much as holiness, may die a convert, and in love to the saints in England; that so the tears of the oppressed and the afflicted may not be as so many fiery stinging serpents, causing an eternal despairing, continual horror to this miserable man, when all tyrants shall be astonished, and innocent blood will affright more than twelve legions of devils. All the hurt that I wish to him, is, that he may look the saints in the face with comfort, for the saints must judge the world. And however it may be he or his adherents may think it a brave Roman spirit, not to repent of any thing, nor express any sorrow for any sin, though never so horrid; taking more care and fear not to change their countenance upon the scaffold, than what shall become of them after death: yet I beseech your Lordship, that I may tell him and all the malignants now living but this: "Charles Stuart, unless you depart  
" this life in love and reconciliation to all those saints  
" and godly men whom you have either ignorantly  
" or maliciously opposed, mocked and persecuted,  
" and still scorn and jeer at as heretics and sectaries,  
" there is no more hopes for you ever to see God in  
" comfort, than for me to touch the heavens with  
" my finger, or with a word to annihilate this great  
" building; or for the devil to be saved, which he  
" might be, if he could love a saint as such." No, Sir, it will be too late for you to say to those saints whom you have defied, "Give me some of your holiness, that I may behold God's angry countenance." You can expect no answer, but, "Go, buy, Sir, of  
" those soul-hucksters, your Bishops, which sed you  
H h 3 " with

“ with chaff and poison, and now you must feed  
 “ upon fire and brimstone to all eternity.”

2. Concerning myself, I bear no more malice to the man's person, than I do to my dear father; but I hate that cursed principle of tyranny that has so long lodged and harboured within him, which has turned our waters of law into blood; and therefore upon that malignant principle I hope this high court (which is an habitation of justice, and a royal palace of principles of freedom) will do speedy justice, that this lion, which has devoured so many sheep, may not only be removed out of the way, but that this iron sceptre, which hath been lifted up to break this poor nation in pieces like a potter's vessel, may be wrested out of the hands of tyrants; that my honourable clients (for whom I am an unworthy advocate) the people of England, may not only taste, but drink abundantly of those sweet waters of that well of liberty which this renowned army hath digged with their swords, which was stopped by the Philistines, the fierce Jew, and uncircumcised Canaanite. The hopes whereof made me readily to hearken to the call to this service, as if it had been immediately from heaven; being fully satisfied, that the prisoner was long since condemned to die by God's law, (which being more noble and ancient than any law of man, if there had been a statute that he should not die, yet he ought to be put to death notwithstanding); and that this high court was but to pronounce the sentence and judgment written against him. And though I might have been sufficiently discouraged, in respect that my reason is far less than others of my profession; yet considering that there are but two things desirable to make a dumb man eloquent; namely, A good cause, and good judges; the first whereof procures the justice of heaven, and the second justice upon earth; and thinking that happily God might make use of one mean man at the bar, amongst other learned counsel, that more of his mind might appear in it, (for many times the less there is of man, the more God's glory doth appear; and hitherto very much of the mind of God hath appeared in this action),

I went as cheerfully about it as to a wedding : and that the glory of this administration may be wholly given to God, I desire to observe, to the praise of his great name, the work of God upon my own spirit, in his gracious assistance and presence with me, as a return of prayer and fruit of faith ; believing that God never calls to the acting of any thing so pleasing to him, as this most excellent court of justice is, but he is present with the honourable judges, and those that wait upon them. I have been sometimes of counsel against felons and prisoners ; but I never moved the court to proceed to judgment against any felon, or to keep any man in prison, but I trembled at it in my thoughts ; as thinking it would be easier to give an account of mercy and indulgence, than of any thing that might look like rigour : but now my spirits are quite of another temper ; and I hope it is meat and drink to good men to have justice done, and recreation to think what benefit this nation will receive by it.

And now, my Lord, I must, as the truth is, conclude him guilty of more transcendent treasons, and enormous crimes, than all the kings in this part of the world have ever been. And as he that would picture Venus, must take the eyes of one, the cheeks of another beautiful woman, and so other parts, to make a compleat beauty : so to delineate an absolute tyrant, the cruelty of Richard III. and all the subtilty, treachery, dissimulation, abominable projects, and dishonourable shifts, that ever were separately in any that swayed the English sceptre, conspired together to make their habitation in this whited wall. Therefore I humbly pray, that as he has made himself a precedent in committing such horrid acts, which former kings and ages knew not, and have been afraid to think of, that your Lordship, and this high court, out of your sublime wisdoms, and for justice sake, would make him an example for other kingdoms for the time to come, that the kings of the earth may hear, and fear, and do no more so wickedly ; that he which would not be a pattern of virtue, and an example of justice  
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in his life, may be a precedent of justice to others by his death.

Courteous reader, for thy full satisfaction in matter of law, how the late King was by the law of the land accountable for his tyrannous and traitorous exorbitancies, I refer thee to my Lord President's most learned and judicious speech before the sentence read : and I have one word to add, That high court was a resemblance and representation of the great day of judgment, when the saints shall judge all worldly powers, and where this judgment will be confirmed and admired ; for it was not only *bonum*, but *bene* ; not only good for the matter, but the manner of proceeding. This high court did not only consult with Heaven for wisdom and direction, (a precedent for other courts to begin every solemn action with prayer), but examined witnesses several days upon oath, to inform their consciences ; and received abundant satisfaction in a judicial way (which by the law of the land was not requisite in treason, the prisoner standing mute) as judges, which before was most notorious and known to them as private persons ; and having most perspicuously discerned, and weighed the merits of the cause in the balances of the sanctuary, law, and right reason, pronounced as righteous a sentence as ever was given by mortal men. And yet what action was ever so good, but was traduced, not only by unholy men, but by the holy men of the world ? That professors should pray for justice, and then repine at the execution of it : blessed Lord ! how does the god of this world storm, now his kingdom is shaking ? An enlightened eye must needs see that it is the design of Heaven to break all human glory with an iron sceptre, that will not kiss his golden sceptre, and to exalt justice and mercy in the earth. I confess, if the greater part of the world should approve such high and noble acts of justice, it might be suspected, because the most people will judge erroneously : but that Christians that have fasted and prayed many years for justice, should now be angry to see it done ; what is it, but like foolish passengers, that having been long at sea in dangerous

gerous storms, as they are entering into the quiet haven, to be mad with the pilot because he will not return into the angry seas? But I shall observe one passage in the Lord President's speech, as a scholar may presume to say a word after his master, concerning the many menaces and minatory dangerous speeches which are given forth concerning this high court; if men must be killed for the faithful discharge of their duties to God and their country, I am sure the murderer will have the worst of it in conclusion, if he should not be known here, (though murder is a sin that seldom goes unpunished in this world; and never did any Jesuit hold it meritorious to kill men for bringing tyrants and murderers to justice, or to do such horrid acts in the sight of the sun). It was a noble saying of the Lord President, That he was afraid of nothing so much as the not doing of justice; and when he was called to that high place which was put upon him, he sought it not, but desired to be excused more than once; not to decline a duty to God and the people for fear of any loss or danger, (being above such thoughts by many storeys, as actions testify), but alledging that of himself, out of an humble spirit, which, if others had said of him, I am sure they had done him a great deal of wrong. And though he might have been sufficiently discouraged, because it was a new unprecedented tribunal of condemning a king, (because never did any king so tyrannize and butcher the people: find me but that in any history, and on the other side the leaf you shall find him more than beheaded, even to be quartered, and given to be meat to the fowls of the air); yet the glory of God, and the love of justice, constrained him to accept it: and with what great wisdom and undauntedness of resolution, joined with a sweet meekness of spirit, he hath performed it, is most evident to all, the malignants themselves being judges. Concerning this high court, to speak any thing of this glorious administration of justice, is but to shew the sun with a candle, (the sun of justice now shines most gloriously, and it will be fair weather in the nation; but, alas! the poor mole is blind still, and cannot see it;



it; but none so blind as they that will not see it). However, it is not proper or convenient for me at present, to speak all the truth that I know (the generations that are to come will call them blessed) concerning the integrity and justice of their proceedings, lest I that am a servant should be counted a sycophant, which I abhor in my soul, as my body does poison: and this I will be bold to say, (which I hope God guides my hand to write), this high court hath cut off the head of a tyrant; and they have done well: undoubtedly it is the best action that they ever did in all their lives; a matter of pure envy, not hatred; for never shall or can any men in this nation promerit so much honour as these have done, by any execution of justice comparable to this. And, in so doing, they have pronounced sentence, not only against one tyrant, but tyranny itself: therefore, if any of them shall turn tyrants, or consent to set up any kind of tyranny by a law, or suffer any unmerciful domineering over the consciences, persons and estates of the free people of this land, they have pronounced sentence against themselves; but good trees cannot bring forth bad fruits: therefore let all desperate malignants repent, ere it be too late, of any such ungodly purposes, and fight no longer against God. Every man is sown here as a seed or grain, and grows up to be a tree; it behoves us all to see in what ground we stand. Holy and righteous men will be found to be timber for the great building of God in his love, when tyrants, and enemies to holiness and justice, will be for a threshold or footstool to be troden upon, or fit for the fire.

Lastly, For myself, I bless God, I have not so much fear as comes to the thousandth part of a grain; it is for Cain to be afraid, that *every man that meets him will slay him*. I am not much solicitous whether I die of a consumption, or by the hand of Ravilliacs; I leave that to my heavenly Father. If it be his will that I shall fall by the hand of violence, *It is the Lord, let him do what he pleaseth*. If my indentures be given in before the term of my apprenticeship be expired, and that I be at my Father's house before it be night,

I am sure there is no hurt in all this. If I have but so much time left, I shall pray my Father to forgive the murderer. The blood of Christ can wash away sins of the deepest stain; but when he sees his childrens blood sprinkled upon the bloody wretch, he loves every member as he loves himself. But know this, ye that have conceived any desperate intentions against those honourable justices, who made you freemen, unless you will return to Egypt; if God, in wrath to you, and love to any of his people, should suffer you to imbrow your hands in any of their innocent blood, either you will repent or not; if you repent, it will cost you ten times more anguish and grief of heart, than the pleasure of the sin can cause delight: and what a base thing it is to do that which must be repented of at the best? But if you repent not, it had been better for you to have never been born. But let every man be faithful in doing his duty, and trust God with the success, and rejoice in Christ in the testimony of a good conscience; for he that hath not a soul to lose, hath nothing to lose. But, blessed be God, I have no soul to lose; therefore I desire only to fear him, whom to fear *is the beginning of wisdom*: and for all malignants to come in, and join with honest men in settling this nation upon noble principles of justice, freedom, and mercy to the poor, will be their best and greatest understanding.



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